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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

MAY.

BY EMILY C. HUNTINGTON.

May is born, the dimpled child,
Tender as a blossom,
Nestling in her baby smiles,
On the spring-time's bosom.

Darling May, the grayest skies
Bluer grow above her,
Looking in her laughing eyes,
Cannot choose but love her.

Not a thing that hath not grown
Gentler for her smiling,
Not a care that hath not flown
At her sweet beguiling.

Pa'est flowers, with perfumed breath,
Rarer for their fleetness,
Waxen bud, and lily bell,
Best become her sweetness.

When the orchards on the slope
Stand with blossoms laden,
May shall change from childish grace
To a winsome maiden.

Stealing from the meadows green
To the woodlands shady,
One shall whisper in her ear,
"Wilt thou love me, lady?"

"All too pale the lily wreath
For thy beauty's wearing,
Fitter were the royal rose
To thy queenly bearing."

Darling May, her fluttering heart
Listening to his story,
She shall be the Summer's bride.
Crowning all his glory.

So, when o'er the clover fields
Warmer winds are straying,
Kneeling at his royal throne,
We shall bind us, saying,

"Queenly fair the lady June,
With her forehead saintly,
Dearer was the baby May,
Smiling on us faintly."

For the National Era.

BY THE WINDOW.

II.

Not hy the street window to-day. I do not care to see fashion and rags, idleness and business, in multiform variety passing and repassing before me.

By this window, into which the morning sunlight comes, the sights of the husy world all shut out, and its sounds heard only in indistinot murmnrings, like the sound of far-off waters, I will watch the moving clonds in their changing beanty, and the swelling huds which are fanned hy every hreath of this fresh hreeze. It is a joy to he alive this bright spring morning, when all nature is awakening to newness of life, and the very air is full of gladness and hope.

How strange, how heautiful, this miracle in the spring, continually recurring and forever new, this wide resurrection, this clothing of dry forms with fresh young beauty!

Last year, I watched a rose hush in our garden, from the time when the winter snows melted away, till the tiny leaf-huds came, in obedience to a call I could not hear, and hegan to swell and expand, and, at last, clothed the bare branches with full garments of green. I watched the flower bnds, silently taking the places assigned to them, and gradually expanding into the perfect flowers, whose mission was to give beauty and fragrance to the world, and to teach us, hy the beautiful order and full success of their lives, that we have only to he what God meant us to he; only, in unquestioning obedience and faith to follow the laws of our heing; only to he our own best selves, without thought of what others are or can be, and our lives will take their places in the Divine order.

Receiving into my heart the lessons which the rose-bush taught me hy the gradual unfolding, the beauty and rich results of its spring and summer life, I thought of the beautiful story of Picciola, and wondered no longer at the strange ministry of the little flower in the lonely prison court, and the miracle it performed in a human heart.

Thus, silently and eloquently, nature is always preaching through her countless ministers, but our ears are filled with the discordant sounds of earth, and our eyes are dezzled by its glittering shows; thus "having eyes, we see not" the beauty that is all around us, and "having ears, we hear not" the truths that would lead us into freedom and light.

This little spot of ground which I am watching from my window is a treasure to us, which dwellers in the country, and the owners of many acres cannot rightly estimate. We came into possession of it last year. It is a little patch of ground, in the heart of the city, fenced in hy large, dark buildings and high fences from the rest of the world; hut not fenced in from the blue sky, the bright sunlight, the free winds, and the nightly dews, with their blessed ministries. It is a good thing that one may own hut a foot of land, yet the title deed takes in all between that and the hlue heavens. Nothing can come between.

There was a division in the family council, when the momentous question, "Shall we have flowers or vegetables in our garden?" was to he decided.

"Fresh cucumbers every day, early tomatoes and tender radishes," said one party.

"Boquets of our own gathering, with the morning dew upon them, roses, verhenas, heliotrope, and mignonette," said the opposition speakers.

Bnt the practical portion of the household was in the ascendency; so a large proportion of the precious territory was given up to utilitarian purposes, and the flower-lovers thankfully took possession of the little portion allotted to them.

Bnt such flowers! That little tract of earth, as if in fierce competition with its practical neighhor, put forth its utmost power, made the most of itself, and astonished all beholders. Roses in great variety hlossomed in beauty and fragrance, and beautiful wild violets, brought from the shadow of the dark, green woods, lost none of their beauty in the home of their adoption. Never was mignonette more fragrant, or sweet peas sweeter, or asters hrighter and longer-lived than ours.

But the morning-glories were the crowning glory of the garden. They grew in hot-hed haste, and with an upward tendency that has only once been equalled. The little hero, whem history has rendered immortal, going out with his morning allowance of hread and butter, to note the progress his bean-vine had made during the night, probably witnessed a similar example of miraculous growth. Our morning-glories were prevented from reaching unknown heights and bearing giants' treasures on their summit hy the unwelcome blasts of November, that left no beauty where they swept in their fury.

But the vegetables. There were the full cucumber vines with their wealth of golden blossoms and green fruit, potatoes, heets, and radishes; but the radishes gave no occasion for boasting to the cultivators of the soil, for their strength and glory were in the large waving tops, while the roots were only dry pigmies. The king of the vegetable world was the corn. How its strong, green leaves stretched upwards to the sunshine, and waved in the wind, and drank in the rain! Then came its silken glory, and finally the full ear. Soon the fact was announced that some day we could have full yellow ears of corn, of our own raising, for dinner. What a watching and counting of ears, if not of kernels!

Frank and Willie, two little household specimens of perpetnal motion, who, like other Franks and Willies, have very inquiring minds, and like to know how everything is made, had superintended the growth of the garden, from the time when their little brown fingers uncovered the newly-buried seeds, that they might watch the curious process of sprouting, till the time when the corn needed all their care. They watched its growth and ripening, as faithfully as if nature had appointed them to do her work. They hoed and watered the soil around the roots, and then parted and turned down the hnsks, to let the golden sunshine in, that the day of ripeness might come the sooner.

At last, the corn was pronounced hy wise judges fit for use. The next day we would test its worth.

Alas for human hopes! Alas for human foresight! What had we to fear? From the beginning, everything had heen done in order. We had fenced out travelling hens in the spring, that our young hopes might not ho destroyed; Maranding pigs, on mischief intent, had heen deharred an entrance, and a ravenous white cow, that had looked all summer with envious eyes on the forhidden fruit, had often found, after hours of futile effort, that it was forbidden, indeed.

Bnt the next morning, when we took our accustomed stand of observation, on the back piazza, to watch the morning-glories and the corn and lesser growth, blank dismay fell npon each one of us. All that waving beauty, all that full ripeness, the pride of our eyes, our summer's hoast, our corn—where was it? A few crushed stalks, the remnants of a few hlasted leaves, were lying on the ground; and there, in the midst of the ruin she had wrought, stood the white cow, in qniet satisfaction, looking as innocent as if she had never heard of broken gate-hinges, and as nnconscious of fear as if we all had not murderous thoughts in our hearts.

The little hoys, whose lahor had been in vain, and to whose knowledge seeking minds one field of scientific investigation was forever closed, with lond lamentations, and threats of vengeance, went, armed with clubs and stones, and hastily expelled from the field of ruin the ruthless devourer of beauty, the destroyer of many hopes.

Paper and pen, aside! The beautiful morning tempts me away. I must go ont and look at the pansies, brave little flowers, defying the cold of the early spring. I must count the new leaves on the tnlips, and ask the tardy blue violets if they intend blossoming to-morrow.

Who would stay in-doors to day?

MIRIAM GRAY.

For the National Era.

AURORA LEIGH.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "SUSY L—'S DIARY."

Mrs. Browning's late work is the "Story of Art and Love," otherwise, Aurora Leigh and Romney Leigh, starting in life. Art, on her twentieth birthday, full of herself, puts on her long white morning robes that brush a grand trail across the dewy lawn, goes humming, sometimes warbling ont hoartily her descant npon singing thrush and blackbird, upon beauteons gnelder-rose, sweet verbena, and acacia; npon poet-wreaths, pnt mostly, so she murmurs, npon the hrows that lie dead, and past the feeling and gladness of them, as Dante's. So, as she sings, she hunts for leaves wherewith to crown herself, catches joyfully at the ivy, of which "not a leaf will grow hut thinking of a wreath," and crowns her forehead, and there she is—Art; and, in all the big, swarming world, there is no one else heside her.

Love, concerned for her, tender toward her, follows, points to the draggled skirts, talks of headaches, tells her of the *work* there is for men and women to do here on this beleaguered earth.

"You, you are young
As Eve with nature's daybreak on her face;
But this same world you've come to, dearest coz,
Has done with keeping birthdays, saves her wreaths
To hang upon her ruins, and forgets
To *rhyme* the cry with which she still beats back
Those savage, hungry dogs that hunt her down
To the empty grace of Christ. The world's hard-pressed;
The sweat of labor in the early curse
Has (turning acrid in six thousand years)
Become the sweat of torture. Who has time,
An hour's time—think! to sit upon a bank,
And hear the cymbal tinkle in white hands?
When Egypt's slain, I say, let Miriam sing!"

And he adds—

"May I choose, indeed,
But now away my years, my means, my aims,
Among the helpers, if there's any help
In such a social strait? The common blood
That swings along my veins is strong enough
To draw me to this duty."

After he has painted all the pains, sins, and wrongs, before her eyes, and said how terrible they are

"For one who is not God, and cannot right
The wrong he looks on,"

he asks her to be his wife, and help him do his work; to let him come to her, and lean upon her, and rest when he is aweary with his tasks among men. "Love and work with me," he says. With indignation, qniet, hut strong, Art, young, untried, undisciplined, yet having intuitions of individual powers for individual attainment and achievement, breaks in and tells him that if man says to loyal woman, if Love says to loyal Art, "Love and work with me," he

"Will get fair answers, if the work and love,
Being good themselves, are good for her—the best
She was born for—but *me* your work
Is not the best for."

And then she says—"Farewell."

She is torn in the parting; but wonders why, since his chosen work and life are not her chosen work and life; since, with all the intentions that have come to teach her and be guides to her, this has not come, that they, too, Love and Art, were joined together in the beginning of God, and can never, to the end, be put asunder, without sense of loss and pain, more or less acute. So, standing erect, she says—"Farewell."

He, with pain expressed in his words, his tones, his sorrowfully-bent head, answered—"Then, farewell."

She goes her way; he, his. He goes alone, with his heartache, and works; works all the harder, that, if possible, he may out-work, outlive the heartache. He parts his ancestral hall into almshouses, and fills them with the poor. When Art heard of it, she said:

"He made an almshouse of his heart one day,
Which ever since is loose upon the latch
For those who pull the string. I never did."

No; cold, proud, arrogant! But this is what she said ahout the same time, after she had heen a long, long time, at her chosen most successful art-work:

"O, my God, my God.
O, Supreme Artist, who, as sole return
For all the cosmic wonder of Thy work,
Commandest of us just a word—a name.
'My Father!' Thou hast knowledge—only Thou—
How dreary 'tis for women to sit still,
On winter nights, by solitary fires,
And hear the nations praising them far off!
Too far! ay, praising our quick sense of love.
Our very heart of passionate womanhood,
Which could not beat so in the verse without
Being present also in the unkissed lips,
And eyes undried, because there's none to ask
The reason they grew moist.

"The love of all
(To risk in turn a woman's paradox)
Is but a small thing to the love of one.
You bid a hungry child be satisfied
With a heritage of many cornfields; nay,
He says he's hungry—he would rather have
That little barley-cake you keep from him
While reckoning up his harvests. So with us;
(Here, Romney, too, we fail to generalize!)
We're hungry."

One time afterward she said, "It always makes me sad to go ahroad;" and before she is through with the low wail, heart and pen take up over the sadness. She lets it he seen that, that evening, when she was at Lord Howe's, my Lady Waldemar was there; was very pretty, with tresses so abundant, her maid must use both hands to coil them; and that the young man, with the German student's look, said within her hearing—

"Look that way, Sir Blase,
She 's Lady Waldemar—to the left—in red,
Whom Romney Leigh, our ablest man just now,
Is soon about to marry."

Poor Art! poor Aurora Leigh! And so she says:

"And now I'm sadder that I went to-night
Among the lights and talkers at Lord Howe's."

And it is plain she was.

By and hy she is in Paris. She goes and wanders early, because she is restless—

"Through the market-place, for flowers,
(The prettiest haunt in Paris,) and makes sure,
At worst, that there are roses in the world."

She finds poor Marian Erle there; and, listening to the story of her wrongs, knows that false, vile, wicked Lady Waldemar is at the bottom of the deadliest of them all. So she mourns for poor Love, "poor Romney Leigh," that he will take this woman for his wife. Sick at heart, weary, worn with life, she takes Marian Erle and her bahy along, and travels night and day to her mother-land, Italy; hears Romney's marriage-bells, fancies that she does, so sick are hrain and heart, so conjured with the solitary huffeting. "The marriage-hells of Romney must be loud," she says:

"To sound so clear through all;"

and adds, "I was not well." No, Art was not well. Her heart and all her frame were sick for want and need of Love to cherish and warm, to fold her close and safe from the wear and tear of the way.

But on she is borne, past Dijon, past Lyons, past Marseilles, and at last she is in Italy. At Florence she takes a villa. Surely she'll get rest now. Surely now shall come a glow, and a warmth, and a delight, into her art-life, living here in the midst of a garden where the olive grows and ripens, in her villa that overlooks the sun's rising and setting, the Ballombrosan mountains—

"Cathedral, tower and palace, piazza and street,
The river training like a silver cord
Through all,"

the golden atmosphere of Italy npon all, without, within—all save her own within—surely she'll let her feet rest soon, and her heart will rest.

We shall see. A letter comes to her from England, from a friend of hers and Romney's, Vincent Carrington, to tell her how wonderfully her last book succeeds, to say of "poor Romney"—

"When the fever took him first,
Just after I had writ to you in France,
They tell me Lady Waldemar mixed drinks
And counted grains like any salaried nurse,
Excepting that she wept too."

Vincent nowhere says he's married, but, putting this with what she has heard before, she says:

"Well, he's married; that is clear
No wonder that he's married, nor much more
That Vincent's therefore 'sorry.' Why, of course
The lady nursed him when he was not well,
Mixed drinks—unless nepenthe was the drink,
'Twas scarce worth telling. * * *
Why, this room stifles. Better burn than choke;
Best have air, air, although it comes with fire,
Throw open blinds and windows to the noon,
And take a blister on my brow instead
Of this dead weight! Books succeed,
And lines fail. Do I feel it so, at last?
Kate loves a worn-out cloak for being like mine,
While I live self-despised for being myself,
And yearn toward some one else."

She sits a long time, sad, doubting, questioning, musing on art and life, and at last on love. At the end of her musing, when she has things somewhat adjusted, she thinks she would he happy if Romney were married *well;* to her blue-eyed friend Kate, for instance; happy, because Marian is gentle and loving, and lets her hold the bahy; because bahy, sitting on her hed in the morning, wakes her pelting her with flowers, and when she sleepily beckons him, kisses her until mouth, cheeks, and all its face, is dissolved on hers. She says—

"God love him!" meaning the baby. "I should
certainly be glad,
Except, God help me, that I'm sorrowful
Because of Romney."

Yes, hecause of Romney. Poor, dear, dearest Art! poor Aurora Leigh!

"'Twas Marian laughed. I saw her glance above
In sudden shame that I should hear her laugh,
And straightway dropped my eyes upon my book,
And knew the first time, 'twas Boccacio's tales,
The Falcon's—of the lover, who for love
Destroyed the best that loved him. Some of us
Do it still, and then we sit and laugh no more.
Laugh *you*, sweet Marian! you've the right to laugh,
Since God himself is for you, and a child!
For me there's somewhat less—and so I sigh."

She, hy the hy, Aurora, is alone upon the terrace; Marian, awhile is in the garden below, with her bahy. Then she comes in, and goes to her chamber with the child; and Aurora still sits, watching the gathering night, and how the purple shadows are like an enchanted sea.

"Drawing you who gaze,
With passionate desire, to leap and plunge,
And find a sea-king."

When, all at once,

"In my ears
The sound of waters. There he stood, My king
I felt him rather than beheld him. Up
I rose, as if he were my king, indeed,
And then sat down in trouble at myself,
And struggling for my woman's empiery.
'Tis pitiful; but women are so made!
She'll die for you, perhaps—'tis probable—
But we'll not spare you an inch of our full height.
We'll have our just stature—five feet four.
'You, Romney! Lady Waldemar is here!'

"Did he touch my hand,
Or but my sleeve? I trembled hand and foot," &c.

It takes them a long time; but, at last, she knows that he's failed in all his separate work—

"'Stay,' I answered him;
'I've something for your hearing, also. I
Have failed, too!'"

knows, at last, that they he strove to henefit have turned against him, shot at him once, pelted him often through the village, and burnt his house.

"They did? They burnt Leigh Hall!
Poor Romney!"

She knows he is not married; for when, incidentally, she names Lady Waldemar as his wife, "with sudden clash of voice,"

"'Are we mad?'
He echoed—'wife! mine! Lady Waldemar!
I think you said my wife.' He sprang to his feet,
And threw his noble head back toward to moon,
As she swims against a stormy sea,
And laughed with such a helpless, hopeless scorn,
I stood and trembled.

"'Dearest, men have burnt my house,
Maligned my motives; but not one, I swear,
Has wronged my soul as this Aurora has,
Who called the Lady Waldemar my wife.'"

By and by, he says—and then she knows he's hlind—

"'O, love, I have loved you! O my soul,
I have lost you. * * * I attest
Those stars above us, which I cannot see'—
'You cannot? Not see the stars?'

"'Tis worse still, not to see
To find your hand, although we're parting, dear.
A moment let me hold it, ere we part;
And understand my last words'"—

He tells her what he feels, and says "Good night," to go—

"'A moment. Heavenly Christ!
A moment. Speak once, Romney 'Tis not true.
I hold your hands, I look into your face—
You see me?'

"'No more than the blessed stars.
Be blessed, too, Aurora. Ah, my sweet,
You tremble.'"

He tells her, then, what a way-lost letter of Lord Howe's should have told her long ago, that one of those who turned against him, a preacher, the night his house was burnt, struck him blind.

"'Blind Romney?'
"'Ah, my friend,
You'll learn to say it in a cheerful voice,
I, too, at first, desponded.'
"'No hope!'
"'A tear! you weep,
Divine Aurora? tears upon my hand!
I've seen you weeping for a mouse, a bird,
But weep for me, Aurora? Yes, there's hope—
Not hope of sight. * * *
* * * I am quiet now—
As tender surely for the suffering world,
But quiet—sitting at the wall to learn;
Content henceforth to do the things I can;
For though as powerless, said I, as a stone,
A stone can still give shelter to a worm,
And it is worth while being a stone for that:
There's hope, Aurora.'

"'Is there hope for me?
For me! and is there room beneath the stone
For such a worm? And if I came and said
What all this weeping scarce would let me say,
And yet what woman cannot say at all,
But weeping bitterly, (the pride keeps up,
Until the heart breaks under it,) I love—
I love you, Romney.'

"'Silence!' he exclaimed.
A woman's pity sometimes makes her mad.
A man's distraction must not cheat his soul
To take advantage of it. Yet, 'tis hard—
Farewell, Aurora.'

"'But I love you, sir.
And when a woman says she loves a man,
The man must hear her, though he love her not,
Which—hush! he has leave to answer in his turn.'"

Then she owns all.

"'You were wrong
In much. You said so. I was wrong in most.
Oh, most! * * * I forgot
No perfect artist is developed here
From any imperfect woman.
* * * Art is much, but love is more.
O Art, my Art, thou'rt much, but Love is more!
Art symbolizes heaven, but Love is God,
And makes heaven. O, Romney, O, my love,
I'm changed since then. Yet in one respect,
Just one, beloved, I am in nowise changed:
I love you, loved you—loved you first and last,
And love you on forever. * * *
* * * Romney, will you leave me here?
So wrong, so proud, so weak, so unconsoled,
So mere a woman! and I love you so,
I love you, Romney."

"Could I see his face,
I wept so? Did I drop against his breast,
Or did his arm constrain me? Were my cheeks
Hot, overflooded with my tears, on his?
And which of our two large, explosive hearts
So shook me? That I know not. There were words
That broke in utterance, melted, in the fire;
Embrace, that was convulsion—then a kiss—
As long and silent as the extatic night—
And deep, deep, shuddering breaths, which meant
beyond
Whatever could be told by word or kiss."

But we cling to the page too long, transcribed too much, stretch our piece out too far. Beloved Aurora!

"From the day
I had brought to England my poor searching face,
(An orphan even of my father's grave,)
He had loved me, watched me."

Dear, dear Romney!

"He stood a moment with erected brows
In silence. and as a creature might, who gazed:
Stood calm, and fed his blind, majestic eyes
Upon the thought of perfect noon."

Beloved, blessed Mrs. Browning! "holy lark!" soaring npward toward divinest heights, as the music within her soars.

For the National Era.

OUR GAME.

BY NORA PERRY.

At first the evening flickered on,
As candles glimmer, gleam, and burn;
A drowsy flame—a flash that's gone,
To drowse again, and then return.

At last perhaps a random word,
Perhaps a glance between us, broke
Through all that calm reserve, and stirred
The cautious nature, till awoke

The smothered fire which hidden burned,
The smouldering fire that lay in wait,
The fitful, flashing fire, that turned
A shower of sparkles, 'ere too late.

Oh friendly flame, you doubled me!
What did your cautious nature fear?
Some spirit of diablerie—
Which sought to snare you in its sphere?

The game we played was surely fair—
I think we understood it well—
Some call it, I believe, Soltaire—
What name we gave I cannot tell.

Who proved the victor in the end?
Or was there any end at all?
Or any victory to contend?
Or any vanquished one to fall?

And was it not a charming game,
An even play to lose and win?
And if it only fanned a flame
Of playful friendship, where the sin?

And where the sin to talk and laugh,
With now and then a wicked glance?
And now and then to gaily chaff
In playing games, or at a dance.

Peoria, Illinois.

KITCHEN PHYSIC.

One foggy winter morning, about twenty years ago, an elderly man, whose walk and manner still retained much of the activity of earlier days, might have been seen making his way across the Pont Neuf in Paris, and betaking himself hy the Rue Dauphine and the Quai des Grands Augustins, in the direction of the well-known edifice, with its three long parallel galleries, which serves as a market for the sale of game and poultry.

Though the morning was raw and chilly, he wore neither cloak nor overcoat, hnt appeared rather as though he might have just qnitted some evening party. He was tall, his back slightly ronnded hy the weight of his sixty years; his costume was partly that of an *habitue* of the Court, partly that of an officer in the army. His linen, which was remarkably fine and white, displayed a profusion of costly lace; his cravat was of satin, and the rest of his dress of black kerseymere. It was evident that this early visitant to the poultry market was no vulgar customer; his small black eyes were bright and piercing; his lips, though somewhat sensual in expression, would have revealed to a disciple of Lavater a nature both subtle and generous; and his gait and manner were at once those of a man of rank and of a man of the world.

No sooner had he entered the poultry market, than a chorus of welcomes and questions saluted his appearance.

"Good morning, Monsieur le Marquis," cried one of the market dames.

"What is Monsieur le Marquis looking for this morning?" demanded a second.

"If Monsieur le Marquis will give himself the trouble to come this way, I have something that I think will please him," cried a third.

It was evident that the stranger to whom these remarks were addressed could he no other than one of the gastronomic celebrities of the day, the Marquis de Cussy, formerly chief purveyor to the Emperor Napoleon, and one of the most illustrious gourmands of the nineteenth century. Witty and skeptical, as men of his epicurean temperament are apt to he, he was by no means deficient in probity or kindness, and never missed an occasion for doing good in his own way to those with whom he was brought into contact. He had declined all the overtures made to him by those of his friends who had come into power with the restoration; but had resumed his post at the Tuileries after the 20th of March. When the news of Waterloo reached him, he was heard to exclaim, in bitterness of soul, "*Allons*, my saucepans are all upset again!"

The following year a friend obtained for the ex-purveyor a sinecure of five thousand francs a year. "I can live upon this sum," he remarked, resignedly, "it will find me a crust of bread and a morsel of Gruyere cheese."

"Only one sentence worth listening to has been uttered in modern days," he was accustomed to say, "and that was the remark made hy Henrion de Passy: 'I shall believe in progress, when I see a cook among the members of the Institute.'"

The Marquis de Cussy lunched at noon and dined at six o'clock. His table was open all the year round to any who demanded his hospitality, and his conversation was as brilliant as his cheer. The fame of his skill and judgment in all matters connected with the table had spread far and wide, and he was overwhelmed with commissions by the most renowned establishments of France and England. In Paris, he was constantly being called upon to pronounce on the relative quality of rival culinary preparations; and his word was law in all the markets of the capital, to which he was accustomed to repair very early in the morning, alone and on foot, as we have seen. He was particularly fond of attacking the principles laid down hy his rival in gastronomic renown, Brillat-Savarin, in his treatise on the Physiology of Taste. Thus Brillat-Savarin says there ought to he twelve persons at table; the Marquis de Cussy replies—

"That is not the right number; the Salernian school, so wise on such subjects, inculcated the principle, 'Never he fewer than the Three Graces; never he more than the Nine Muses.' For my part, I say, 'Be three, six, or nine, at a table.'"

He advises his disciples to drink hnt a few drops of wine at a time, and was fond of repeating that "the true gourmand would never eat when not hungry." Brillat-Savarin gives two dozen of oysters as the proper allowance for each guest, and advises that they he opened and placed upon the table heforehand.

"Professor," would retort the Marquis, "oysters opened heforehand, and perhaps even detached from the shell! Why, such a counsel is the very extreme of harbarism; and I can only excuse you by rememhering that you come from an inland department. Brillat-Savarin advises the introduction of mirrors into the dining-room; the Marquis insisted upon it that they were out of place in a refectory, and could only serve to distract the eyes and thoughts of the diners, which ought, on the contrary, to be concentrated on the dinner table.

Such was the personage whom we have seen entering the poultry market on the morning in question, with the air of a man who had some very important purchase to make, amid a salvo of salutations and offers from the presiding genii of the place.

Having hestowed a bow on one of them, a smile on another, a friendly word on a third, and addressed a wave of the hand to them all, the gastronomer betook himself to the gallery which was more especially consecrated to the sale of game.

"What is Monsieur le Marquis in want of this morning?" inquired, in coaxing tones, one of the sirens of the adjacent stalls. "Is it a partridge or a pair of quails?"

"Not exactly, Madame Barbet; I want something better yet."

"A woodcock, perhaps, Monsieur le Marquis, or a string of snipes?"

"No, *mon enfant;* I want a golden pheasant; hut it must he a pheasant of the very best quality."

Instantly, from stall to stall, these words were transmitted, as though they had heen a telegraphic despatch: "*Eh, vous autres!* the hest pheasant in the market for Monsieur de Cussy."

Two minutes had scarcely elapsed hefore a superh hird, with glittering plumage, passed on, from stall to stall, from the farthest point of the market, reached the pillar at whose hase stood the former purveyor.

"The very thing I wanted," said the Marquis, after a rapid glance at the pheasant. Having wrapped his treasure carefully in a newspaper, he took from his purse a piece of gold, paid for the pheasant, saluted the divinities of the market with a how expressive of the utmost good humor, and disappeared.

"And now let me hasten to the spot where I am so anxiously looked for," he murmured, as he left the market.

When the Marquis was gone, the saleswomen could not keep from sundry little conjectures as to the destination of the pheasant.

"Who can it be for?" said one. "Is it for the English Ambassador?" said another. "Perhaps it is for the Beron de Rothschild," suggested a third. "You look a long way off," interposed a fourth; "you forgot that the Marquis, though not exactly a rich man, is still the most delicate eater in all Paris. The golden pheasant, take my word for it, is for no one but himself."

All these conjectures were equally wide of the mark. Had the market women heen able to follow the retreating figure of their customer, they would have seen him regain the line of the Pont Neuf, and make his way, still on foot, along the Rue Montorgeuil, to the other side of the Fauhourg Poissonnière; and, after walking some distance in this direction, turn into the most of streets, empty and quiet, of the Fauhourg Saint Denis, which compose the quarter specially affected to those innumerable petty manufactures usually known as "Articles de Paris," and constituting so important an item in the industry of the metropolis. Then, as now, this part of the town was densely peopled hy an intelligent and industrious population, occupying an intermediate position between the mere workman and the artist; these narrow streets making up a series of industrial hives, in which the carver, the lithographer, the gilder, the musical-instrument maker, and the manufacturer of every species of fancy work, carried on their labors. Turning into the Rue Martel, the Marquis entered a sordid-looking house, and demanded, "Monsieur Simon Leblanc, the porcelain painter."

"Fourth story, second door to the left," returned the *concierge*, without raising his eyes from the boot at which he was working.

"I know the room," said the Marquis in an under-tone, as he climbed the dark and dirty staircase to the apartment of the porcelain painter.

A week before, the Marquis had made his way up the dingy stairs for the first time, and since then he had climbed them regularly every day.

A certain Prince, whose dominions, like those of so many others, bordered the Rhine, kept up a regular correspondence with the Marquis concerning all the details of his table. This potentate had lately besought his aid, under a terrible domestic misfortune that had just overtaken him. His Rhenish Highness was the possessor of a very beautiful dinner service of painted porcelain, two saucers of which had heen hroken hy a lackey during a grand gala dinner, at which the beautiful service in question had figured to the admiration of all beholders. The service was thus rendered incomplete, and could not he used again unless the two missing pieces could he replaced. In his missive, the German Highness entreated the Marquis to spare neither time, nor efforts, nor money, to get the two saucers perfectly matched.

The very day on which he had received the letter, the gastronomer had set to work to gratify his princely correspondent, and addressed himself to all the porcelain painters most in renown. But they were all fully occupied. At Sevres, the workmen were overwhelmed with orders for the Court; in all the private workshops, the painters were so husy that they would pay no heed to the entreaties of the Marquis. He could hear but of one porcelain painter, Simon Leblanc, the artisan, or rather, we might say, the *artist*, of the Rue Martel, through whom there was the slightest chance of obtaining the execution of the Prince's order.

"I will go to the Rue Martel," said the rival of Brillat-Savarin.

A week previous to his morning visit to the poultry market, the Marquis rang at the door of Simon Leblanc. A young woman opened the door. Her face was intelligent and pleasing; but her soft blue eyes had in them an evident expression of sadness, and not a few gray lines silvered her rich chestnut hair, which was still very beautiful. She was the wife of the painter. The Marquis's penetration at once divined the want and suffering that had left their traces on this gentle face.

In a few words and with much kindness of manner he explained the object of his visit.

"The work I wish to have done," he pursued, "is easy of execution hy a painter of your husband's talent, and will be handsomely paid. Do you think he will consent to undertake it?"

The wife seemed to hesitate, and did not reply.

"Two saucers for a Prince," he pursued, "and a handful of gold in payment."

She held down her head, too much embarrassed to make any answer.

"Monsieur Simon Leblanc has heen mentioned to me as a skilful workman," resumed the Marquis, puzzled hy the woman's silence.

"Skilful?" she answered, looking up quickly. "O yes, he is very skilful, there is no doubt ahout that; hut, unfortunately," she added, sadly, "he does not like working."

At this reply, the Marquis looked scrutinizingly round the room, and was struck with the indications of sordid poverty visible in every part of it.

"No, he no longer likes to work," resumed the young woman, who had followed his glance through the room, and seemed to divine his thoughts. "No doubt this seems very strange to you, as we are so poor, but it is unfortunately the simple truth." As she spoke, her eyes filled with tears.

"Poor child!" murmured the compassionate Marquis.

"Monsieur," said the painter's wife, "you seem to he kind and upright; and this emboldens me to confide to you the whole truth."

"Say on, Madame, say on," responded the Marquis. "I am ready to listen to all that you will tell me."

"My husband," she resumed, "has not always heen an idler. When we were first married, he was the hest workman to he found; he was spoken of as a model. What I am going to say will seem to you very strange, but it is true nevertheless. He was made too much of; he was paid too much, and too much petted; it is this that has caused his ruin."

"I confess I do not see how his good fortune should have had such an effect," replied the Marquis.

"You will understand it better when I have finished my story, Monsieur," she added, wiping her eyes. "The least stroke of work was largely paid. For a day's lahor he got fifty francs; for a night's, he got double. Anybody else would have taken advantage of such wages to give himself a good start, and to secure himself a position for the future; hnt instead of doing this, when Simon found himself earning so easily, he hegan all at once to spend his money even faster than he earned it."

"But could you do nothing to hinder this wastefulness?" interposed the Marquis.

"Ah, Monsieur, you little know how slight is the authority of the wife in the workingman's household. The more I preached to him, the more he stayed away from home. At last he would only work two days out of the seven, declaring that what he thus gained was enough for our wants; and by degrees, as he got into the way of frequenting the wine shop, he quite lost all interest in his work."

Here her tears hroke forth anew, causing her to pause in her recital.

"But have you lost all power over your husband?" demanded the Marquis. "Could you not induce him to listen to reason, at least when you are at table together? You should talk to him while you are at dinner, which is the best time you could choose for suggesting good ideas, that might not he so well received at any other time."

"He has not taken his meals at home for a very long time, Monsieur," rejoined the wife, despondently.

"He no longer takes his meals with you! that is indeed a very serious symptom. Has he ever told you why he goes elsewhere for his meals?"

"He says the food is not eatable at home."

"In that case he is perfectly justified in eating elsewhere."

"But whose fault is it, Monsieur, if the food is not good at home? Can you make the spit turn without money? For a long time past he has given me nothing for the housekeeping, and of course there is nothing in the larder."

"Perhaps a little gentleness on your part would change his feeling."

"I have worn out all my patience in the effort. Reproaches and entreaties are alike thrown away. I have put up with all this unhappiness and misery for three years, and I am determined to hear it no longer. I have made up my mind to leave him, and next week I go home to my parents in Brittany. I will work with them, and have no fear but I shall be able to make an honest living."

"What! Do you mean to give him up altogether?"

"Altogether. Having once left him, I shall never return. Oh, if you knew what I have suffered during these three years," she added, clasping her hands and weeping afresh, "you would not wonder at the resolution I have taken."

"Poor child!" exclaimed the Marquis, who was really touched by the distress of the neglected wife, and the idea of the empty larder. "Your position is undoubtedly a very trying one; but take courage; there is a remedy for almost all misfortunes; and I see a very easy and effectual one for yours."

"Oh, Monsieur, would to Heaven it were so! but I think that is impossible," sobbed Madame Leblanc.

"Listen to me, *mon enfant*," continued her visiter. "I am the Marquis de Cussy. People call me the Prince of Gourmands, which is merely a piece of flattery; they ought rather to call me the Prince of Doctors, which would he only justice. I will cure your husband."

"You, Monsieur? And how will you cure him?"

"With the help of my science. But I can do so only on one condition, which is this: you must let me have my own way in everything that I may think necessary to effect his cure."

"Such a condition is too reasonable to be refused, Monsieur," replied the wife, who had stopped crying, and was listening with all her ears to the discourse of the Marquis.

"I shall hegin by writing a few lines to your husband, which you will hand to him as soon as he comes in," pursued the gastronomer, as he seated himself at a little table, and wrote with his pencil a few words upon the back of a letter he had taken from his pocket book. "This is the first of my prescriptions," he continued, as he handed the paper to Madame Leblanc. "Do not forget that it must be followed with the most implicit obedience." And taking up his hat, the Marquis bowed smilingly to the painter's wife, and took his departure.

When Simon Leblanc entered his deserted home that evening, his wife handed him the note, which ran as follows:

"I am assured, Monsieur, that you are one of best porcelain painters in Paris, and the specimens I have seen of your work convince me that you can satisfactorily finish the saucers I leave with this letter, destined to complete a service of which two have heen hroken, as you will see hy the accompanying fragments, which will serve as your patterns. I need not add that the recompense of this work will he worthy of your talent and of the exalted station of the personage for whom these saucers are demanded. Money is not the sole consideration with an artist of merit; we shall easily come to an understanding on this point.

"Meanwhile, permit me to impose on you one slight condition. For the last fifty years (I am now sixty-five) I have never arranged any matter of business without having previously dined with the other contracting party. I have therefore to inform you that I herehy invite myself to dine with you to-morrow—a family dinner—with you and your wife.

"MARQUIS DE CUSSY."

"What an old sort of a customer!" said the porcelain painter to himself, as he perused the missive; a Marquis that invites himself to dine in a garret where there is not a mouthful to eat. But I like his free and easy sort of way. Let him come; and we'll see what can he done." So saying, Simon Leblanc began to examine the hroken china left hy the Marquis. "Two saucers like these will take eight days to finish," he remarked, musingly; "a wearisome job. But we'll think ahout it to-morrow."

Next morning, on awaking, the saucers were the first thing he thought of.

"Deuce take the man and his letter!" he exclaimed. "If he had only left the order, I should just have left him and his saucers to look after themselves; hut what can one do when a Marquis not only gives one an order, but invites himself to dine with one this very evening?"

During the whole of the morning the painter remained at home, wandering restlessly in and out of the little room in which he used to work in the happier days that seemed to have gone hy for ever. About noon he began to prepare his colors; before long, he was busy sketching his patterns. His wife, who could hardly helieve her eyes, watched him anxiously, but said nothing.

As the clocks in the neighborhood were striking two, the painter's hell rang, and the Marquis appeared.

"*Ma foi*," cried he, holding out his hand to the painter, "I am come early, as you see, for I was impatient to make your acquaintance. Allow me to compliment you very sincerely on your promptitude," he continued, seeing that the painter was already at work; "it is an excellent sign, and you shall he immediately rewarded for the alacrity with which you have met my wishes. You are wondering what your reward will he? An excellent appetite, which I promise you heforehand; for, you rememher, we are going to dine together; and I have no hesitation in saying that our dinner will he worth eating."

"I should be only too glad to offer you such a dinner, Monsieur Le Marquis," replied the porcelain painter, "hut I am sorry to say, you have chosen a wrong place to look for anything eatable. Poor people like us have no larder to boast of. But I will take you to the tavern, and we will do the hest we can there."

"Much obliged to you," returned the Marquis. "In all Paris there are but one or two eating houses where a man of taste could manage to make a dinner, and they are too far off. No, Monsieur Leblanc, we shall dine here, in your own dining room; and we shall dine well, you may take my word for it."

"But, Monsieur le Marquis," objected the young wife, with an air of evident embarrassment.

"Give yourself no trouble about the matter, my child; I take the whole affair upon myself. Have you any charcoal?"

"Even so poor a kitchen as ours is sure to have *that*, Monsieur le Marquis," answered the hostess, still rather uneasy.

"Very good. The rest is my affair," continued the Marquis, as the hell rang once more, and a tall lackey, in a gay livery, entered the painter's apartment, panting under the weight of a great hamper, heavily laden with provisions of various kinds, and a number of hottles, whose resined corks and dusty cobwebs proclaimed the quality of the precious liquor they contained.

"I must let you into the secret of some of my ways, my children," pursued the gastronomer. "I am not only a professed lover of good cheer, hut I have also the right to call myself an excellent cook." And so saying, he took off his coat and turned up his shirt sleeves, with an evident intention of affording ocular demonstration of the truth of his claim to all whom it might concern. "As for you, Monsieur Leblanc," he continued, turning to the porcelain painter, who was looking on with a face expressive of amusement and interest, "I heg you will not let my presence disturb you in the work you have undertaken. Return to your business, my dear sir, and leave me to mine. When I have finished my labors, I will let you know."

The Marquis, having unpacked the hamper with the aid of his servant and the painter's wife, now betook himself to the little kitchen, and began to make the fires for his contemplated operations.

"Monsieur le Marquis," said the young woman, "I cannot allow you"——

"To make the fire myself? But do you not know that the making of the fire is not an unimportant point in the preparation of a dish? A little more charcoal or a little less is hy no means a trifle; and no one hut myself knows just what the quantity should he. Beside," he added, in a whisper, "you remember our agreement: I am here as a doctor; let me cure my patient in my own way."

"If Monsieur le Marquis is really determined to do everything himself, I have nothing more to say; but I hope he will at least suffer me to make myself useful under his direction," replied Madame Leblanc, with a grateful smile.

At dusk, the Marquis's preparations being finished, the painter was summoned to dinner. He could hardly credit his senses when he crossed the threshold of his humble dining room. Thanks to the provident forethought of the Marquis, and the zealous aid of his wife, this room, whose cheerlessness he had taken in horror, resorting to the wine shop for the spurious substitution it offered in place of the comfort his home no longer afforded him, looked as neat and pleasant as possible. A bright wood fire was crackling and blazing on the hearth, making the faded and threadbare curtains, cosily drawn across the window, look as good as new in its ruddy glow. The little round table was covered with a snowy cloth, and for each of the three dinner companions was laid a handsome cover, with plates of Sevres china, flanked by goblets of transparent clearness. A tall chandelier, garnished with lighted tapers, stood in the centre of the table, surrounded hy a tureen of steaming soup, that was sending forth a most appetizing aroma, and sundry small *hors d'euvres* of equally agreeable promise.

But if the appearance of the repast was satisfactory and inviting, what shall be said of the viands of which it was composed? Some things are beyond the reach of description, and the Marquis's cookery was one of these.

"Let me tell you, my children," said the Marquis, as the soup was removed, and the succeeding dishes were placed upon the table—"let me tell you that the King himself will not sit down this evening to a better dinner than ours."

"That is just what I was saying to myself," exclaimed the porcelain painter, in the enthusiasm of his satisfaction. "But, Monsieur le Marquis, how can it be possible to give such a wonderful flavor to everything?"

"So you find my cookery tolerable, do you?" returned the gastronomer, with a smile of gratified vanity.

"I never dreamt of anything half so delicious," responded the painter.

"Good! then we will make another attempt to-morrow," cried the Marquis, gaily.

The porcelain painter, deeming it incumbent upon him to protest against a repetition of the Marquis's generosity, endeavored to bring out a sentence deprecating the trouble that such a proceeding on his part would cause to him; but it may fairly be doubted whether his protestations were altogether sincere.

"Give yourself no concern about my 'trouble,' as you call it," replied the Marquis, good humoredly; "for it is all done with a view to my own interests. I am most impatient to possess myself of the two saucers; and I know, hy my own experience, that nothing helps forward any sort of labor so effectually as the certainty of sitting down to a good dinner when one's task is over. And, hesides, I am not sorry to he on the spot, and to see for myself how the work gets on."

Things went on in this manner for four days, Simon Leblanc working steadily all day long, and dining like a prince of the blood in the evening.

By the end of the fourth day, the porcelain painter was astonished to find something of his former liking for his work coming back to him. His work room seemed to have grown less disagreeable; his brushes, his palette, and all the details of his occupation, began to exercise something of their old charm over his mind; and he might have heen heard to murmur, while painting busily, "If one were only sure of having a good dinner in one's own home at the end of a day's work!"

When the Marquis was leaving, that evening, after they had again partaken, as usual, of an excellent repast, the young wife followed him to the door, and whispered, "I really think that Simon is heginning to forget the road to the tavern."

"He will have forgotten it altogether a few days hence, *mon enfant*," replied the Marquis, with a smile.

He was already meditating the preparation of a golden pheasant, a *chef d'œvre* of culinary skill and perfection, on which he counted for the completion of the cure he had undertaken to effect. It was the execution of this project which took the Marquis, two days afterward, to the poultry market, as we have seen.

When the Marquis entered the painter's apartment, he found the little rooms decked out as for a festival. Madame Leblanc had heen busy all the morning in putting the place into apple-pie order. The floors had been waxed, and the furniture subjected to a thorough dusting and rubbing. Clean white muslin blinds were to be seen in the windows; the brass knobs of the andirons were shining in brilliant rivalry with the gleaming of the fire; and bunches of asters and chrysanthemums filled the little china jars upon the mantelpiece.

"This evening I shall deliver to you the two saucers, Monsieur le Marquis," exclaimed Simon Leblanc, in an exultant tone, as he came forward quickly, to welcome his kindly guest.

"And this evening we shall also eat our best dinner," returned the latter, shaking the porcelain painter cordially by the hand.

Both parties kept their word. That evening, as the church clocks were striking five, Simon Leblanc quitted his work-room, and placed the two saucers in the Marquis's hands.

"You may well be proud of your work, *mon enfant*, for it is a masterpiece," said M. de Cussy, as he examined the two beautiful saucers with the eye of a connoisseur. "And now let me show you mine," he added, as he led the way to the dinner table, and showed him the golden pheasant, worthily displayed in a silver chafing-dish.

"He cannot resist the action of such a medicament as *that!*" whispered the Marquis triumphantly to Madame Leblanc, as he seated himself at the table, between her and her husband.

The gastronomer was right in his calculations.

"I shall never be able to eat again at that horrible tavern," cried the porcelain painter, when the dessert was being placed upon the table.

"What! is he cured already?" cried his little wife, whose pretty blue eyes were filling with joyful tears.

"Yes, he is already cured, *mon enfant*," replied the ex-purveyor, "but the permanence of the cure will depend upon your heing able to continue the treatment I have begun. And now let me offer you something that will help you to do so," he continued, as he took from his pocket-book a hank note for a thousand francs, which he placed in the hands of the painter's wife. "It is the price of the two saucers," he added, as the painter and his wife uttered an exclamation of surprise at the largeness of the sum of which they now found themselves the possessors. "The Prince for whom they are destined will not think I have paid too much for a piece of work that has heen so perfectly and so promptly executed."

The porcelain painter, having thus happily returned into the right path, was never again tempted to quit it. He became as steady in his work as he was skilful; and his wife, being now furnished with the means of providing for the comfort of her husband, made excellent use of the Marquis's teachings. They were soon able to remove into a hetter apartment, Madame Leblanc taking good care to make it so comfortable, that her husband was never again tempted to leave his own table or his own fireside. Simon Leblanc hecame very famous in his art, and eventually amassed a good deal of money.

When the Marquis de Cussy was attacked hy the malady which terminated his days, he one day received a present of a very beautiful porcelain cup, on which was painted a golden pheasant. This cup was accompanied hy a note, containing these words: "To my doctor, to help him to take his herb tea."

To those who inquired what could he intended hy the sending of this cup, he would reply: "It is a memorial of the most perfect piece of cooking, and the most successful cure, I have ever accomplished in the whole course of my life."

In his will, the Marquis hequeathed this cup to one of his nephews, hy whom it is carefully preserved as an heir-loom.

SPEECH OF HON. FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.,

OF MISSOURI,

On the Acquisition of Territory in Central and South America, to be Colonized with Free Blacks, and held as a Dependency by the United States.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 14, 1858.

Mr. Chairman, whenever it shall be in order, I shall offer to the House the following resolution, which covers the ground that I propose to discuss:

"*Resolved*, That a select committee, to consist of —— members, be appointed by the Speaker, with instructions to inquire into the expediency of providing for the acquisition of territory either in the Central or South American States, to be colonized with colored persons from the United States who are now free, or who may hereafter become free, and who may be willing to settle in such territory as a dependency of the United States, with ample guarantees of their personal and political rights."

It was remarked by a gentleman from Tennessee [MR. MAYNARD] the other day, on this floor, that he hoped and believed that this question would he discussed and disposed of without reference to the subject of Slavery, because, he said, there were no slaves in Central America. The inquiry was made immediately, hy many around me, "How long will it he before there are slaves there?" This inquiry shows, what is almost universally felt to be true, that the Slavery question is at the bottom of this whole movement. There is a party in this country who go for the extension of Slavery; and these predatory incursions against our neighbors are the means hy which territory is to he seized, planted with Slavery, annexed to this Union, and, in combination with the present slaveholding States, made to dominate this Government and the entire continent; or, failing in the policy of annexation, to unite with the slave States in a Southern slaveholding Republic. I believe that there are those who entertain such a purpose. I am opposed to the whole scheme, and to every part of it; and, in order to oppose it successfully, I think we should recur to the plans cherished by the great men who founded this Republic. I think we ought to put it out of the power of any body of men to plant Slavery anywhere on this continent, hy taking immediate steps to give to all of these countries that require it, and especially to the Central American States, the power to sustain free institutions under stable Governments; and, as one method of doing this, we might plant those countries with a class of men who are worse than useless to us, who would prove themselves to he of immense advantage to those countries, who would attract the wealth and energy of our hest men to aid and direct them in developing the incredible riches of those regions, and thus open them to our commerce, and the commerce of the whole world. I refer to our enfranchised slaves, all of that class who would willingly embrace the offer to form themselves into a colony, under the protection of our flag, and the guarantee of the Republic of every personal and political right necessary to their safety and prosperity.

What I propose is not new; it is bottomed on the reasoning and recommendation of Mr. Jefferson. Speaking of a proposition, similar in many respects, urged hy him upon the Legislature of his native State, he says:

"It was, however, found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it even at this day; yet the day is not far distant when it must bear it and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people (the negroes) are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same Government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of EMANCIPATION AND DEPORTATION, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place he *pari passu* filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or deletion of the Moors."

The time has ripened for the execution of Mr. Jefferson's plan. By adopting it, we may relieve ourselves of a people who are a burden to us; give them an amount of happiness and comfort they can never realize here, where they are treated as a degraded class; reinvigorate the feeble people of the southern Republics, and open up to the enterprise of our merchants the untold wealth of the intertropical region, containing a greater amount of productive land than all the balance of the continent; put a stop to the African slave trade, which is created and kept up by the demand for tropical productions, hy supplying that demand hy the labor of the only class of freemen capable of exertion in that climate. I make this proposition to meet, oppose, and defeat that which seeks hy violence to re-establish Slavery, reopen the African slave trade, subject those regions, in Walker's own language, "*to military rule*," and exclude from them the people of the Northern States. I shall discuss and compare these propositions as fully as the time limited will allow me.

Mr. Randolph, in one of his most celebrated speeches in the Senate, addressing himself to Mr. Calhoun, said:

"Sir, I know there are gentlemen, not only from the Southern but the Northern States,

[SEE FOURTH PAGE.]

Mr. L. T. Park, of Mount Union, Ohio, will receive and forward subscriptions for the *Era*, at club rates.

☞ Mr. Wheeler is the accredited agent for the *Era*, in Cincinnati, Ohio.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1858.

☞ Mr. Blair's speech, printed on our fourth page, will be read with much interest. Aside from the merits of the speech, the position of Mr. Blair invests it with peculiar significance.

CONGRESS.

In consequence of the sudden death of Senator Evans, of South Carolina, Thursday night, no business was transacted, in either House, Friday or Saturday, except the passage of the usual resolutions in such cases.

LECOMPTON AND THE ELECTIONS.

While the officeholders are rejoicing and firing cannon over the passage of Lecompton, the People are indulging in a very different kind of demonstration. The issue was made in the late election in Philadelphia, the stronghold of the Democracy, between the Lecomptonites and their opponents—Mr. Buchanan and the People—and the result is, the election of Alexander Henry, the People's candidate for Mayor, by a majority of four or five thousand over Richard Vaux, Lecompton. The people also elected large majorities of the City Council.

In Indianapolis, on the 5th, a similar demonstration was made. The President was rebuked by the election of the entire Republican ticket for city officers, as well as five Republican Councilmen out of the seven.

The campaign opens well: The President will find it harder work than he expected, to convince the People that the Lecompton Constitution is not a fraud, and that the English bill is not a juggle.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN COURTS.

As a general rule, the action of the courts in England, in cases involving the question of Slavery, has leaned to the side of human rights. One of the most steadily operating causes of the decline of villeinage in that country was Judicial decisions. In our country, the opposite rule prevails. The Judiciary is one of the bulwarks of Slavery, and, in cases of doubtful construction, is apt to decide against natural right. Mark, for example, the following case, extracted from one of our exchanges:

"J. L. Poindexter, of Virginia, having provided by will that his negroes should be allowed to choose between Freedom and Slavery, the heirs contested the legality of the provision, and were sustained by the Court of Appeals, Judge Daniel deciding that although a master enter into the forms of an agreement with his slave to manumit him, and the slave proceed fully to perform all required of him in the agreement, he is without remedy, in case the master refuse to comply with his part of the agreement, and that a slave cannot take anything under a devise or will except his freedom. It follows, therefore, that a slave cannot exercise an election with regard to his manumission."

It is easy to see that this was a case in which Judicial decision might easily, and without any forced construction of law, have established a precedent in favor of Liberty. The court might have held that the mere fact of the master entering into a written agreement with his slave to manumit him, invested the slave to that extent with a claim to his freedom, the conditions of the agreement being fulfilled on his part. No law would have been violated, by such a decision—no right: so far from it, the right of the master would have been sustained, and his benevolent intentions respected and fulfilled. But the court shows clearly enough, by this decision, that it is against the policy of emancipation, and in favor of the perpetuation of Slavery.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION.

The American Medical Association met in this city last week. Some four hundred delegates were in attendance, almost every State being represented. Dr. Harvey Lindsly, of this city, was elected President for the ensuing year. The purpose of the Association is to cultivate good fellowship in the Profession, maintain its respectability, and promote its efficiency. Prizes are awarded for medical papers of signal merit, and great zeal is manifested for the repression of quackery.

Every organization must have its exciting topic, and be agitated by something or other. The "vexed question" with our medical brethern was, the unprofessional conduct of Dr. Reese, one of the Vice Presidents of the Association. In an unlucky moment, moved by considerations of friendship, he had recommended to the charge of the Blockley Hospital, Philadelphia, Dr. James McClintock, previously expelled from the Association, for manufacturing or vending nostrums. Dr. Reese was at once arraigned as an offender—his action was insulting to the Association—a violation of the established etiquette of the profession. A Doctor may experiment as much as he pleases, resort to all kinds of empiricism, so long as he does not descend to the trick of concealing his panaceas, and so making money out of them: that meanness the Profession cannot tolerate.

The Association was greatly agitated: Dr. Reese was penitent, and offered a written apology: it was not considered ample enough—he must not only confess to an error, but he must say he *regretted* his recommendation. The Doctor was indignant—would not submit to such dictation—but, finally, yielded the point, and expressed his "regret," whereat there was great rejoicing; and he was fully forgiven.

Happy indeed must be that physician who can blame himself for no other offence than a violation of professional etiquette.

☞ On Monday, in the House, a Senate bill was taken up, granting an appropriation for sundry runaway slaves, in the war of 1812. Mr. Bliss, of Ohio, made a clear and logical speech against the bill. Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, replied, and characterized Mr. Bliss and his colleague, Mr. Giddings, as "mad dogs," on the subject of Slavery. Mr. Giddings said that the use of such language was "cowardly" under the circumstances. Upon this, Mr. Garnett charged that Mr. Giddings was "a traitor to his country and his God," and was proceeding with such personalities, when he was silenced by the Speaker. For a few moments the House was the scene of intense excitement, but it soon passed away.

TUESDAY IN CONGRESS.

The Senate at one o'clock resumed the subject of the Fishing Bounties.

In the House, the Senate Minnesota bill was taken up. The amendment, giving but one member of Congress was voted down. The Senate bill then passed—yeas 157, nays 38.

The resolution introduced a few days since by Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, recommending the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, was taken up, and the preamble voted down. Mr. Sickles, of New York, got the floor upon a motion to recommit the resolution to the Committee of the Whole.

LET YOUR YEA, BE YEA, AND YOUR NAY, NAY.

Congress having passed an act allowing the People of Kansas to accept or reject the Lecompton Constitution, the duty now devolves on that People to announce through the ballot-box their will. This duty appears to be so plain, so unmistakable, that we cannot see how any one can doubt as to their proper course. If in favor of coming in under the Lecompton Constitution, let them vote *yea;* if not, let them vote *nay*. At all events, VOTE: let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay. Let us have a clear, honest expression of opinion. Let there be no trickery, no indirection, no foolish "ignoring" of the issue, no further trial of the foolish policy of no-voting. The election will be ordered—the election will be held—the question will be voted upon—the returns made, proclaimed, and received as evidence of the will of the People, and of the strength of parties in Kansas. To advise the Free-State men under such circumstances to ignore the whole trasaction, to "let it alone," is to advise them to cut their own throats.

We must confess our surprise at seeing such advice in the columns of the New York *Evening Post*. The editors do not endorse it, but unfortunately they give too much countenance to it. They say:

"We submit the following suggestions in reference to the course to be pursued by the people of Kansas, with the single remark, that they come from a man whose views upon public affairs are always worthy of consideration. We are not in a situation to know with certainty whether it would be prudent to adopt his recommendation or not:

"'Why should the people of Kansas trouble themselves any further with the Lecompton Constitution? It never had any validity, for Constitutions derive their validity only from the consent of the people, which this never had. The late proceedings in Congress—whatever other effects they may produce—have not imparted any new authority to the Lecompton document. Let it alone, then, and it is worth as much as one of last autumn's dry leaves.

"'The people of Kansas have a good Constitution, framed by delegates of their own choosing, and fully satisfactory to the whole people. Let them go straight forward, and vote it into life; let them organize their government under it, and lose no time in getting it into full operation in all its parts and functions, just as they wish it to be, and with a consciousness of the fullest right and legality in so doing. Let them in due time—not in a hurry—elect two worthy men to represent them in the Senate of the United States, paying no attention to Lecompton more than to the edicts of Brigham Young.

"'Then, if anybody thinks proper to appoint inspectors and hold elections, and make returns, and issue proclamations, under the 'English' farce, let them do it, and let those who are in favor of the farce take a part in it by voting, but *everybody else let it alone*. It can do no hurt, so far, if the body of the people let it alone. If a thousand or two thousand border-ruffians and tools of the Administration all vote in favor of the 'proposition,' President Buchanan will issue his proclamation declaring Kansas to be a sovereign State of the Union! That will hurt nobody.

"'The Government of the State will then go on, the worthy Free-State men, who will receive John Calhoun's certificates that they were elected to State offices and the Legislature under the Lecompton Constitution, will very gladly put those harmless pieces of paper in their desks or in the fire, and stay at home. And there the story is ended. Congress has exhausted its power. President Buchanan has no further pretext for interfering. The 'English' grant of lands has been accepted, and if the acceptance is held to be valid, the condition of not taxing the United States lands is binding, and if not, not. The Senate will never dare to refuse the Senators chosen by the Legislature of Kansas, under a Constitution adopted by the people of Kansas. And if any person or party in Kansas undertakes to exercise governmental functions under any proscribed or rejected authority, let usurpation, rebellion, or treason, be dealt with according to law.

"'People of Kansas, be firm and united now, and your struggle is over! 'He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.'"

If the Free-State men take this advice, the election on the English proposition will not be "a farce," but a tragedy. Kansas will be admitted by the votes of the Pro-Slavery Party under the Lecompton Constitution. No matter what the Free-State men then may claim, their voice will be disregarded, because, having had a fair opportunity to defeat the measure in a constitutional way, they did not do so. They may assert what they please, and Public Opinion would pronounce them either concealed friends of Lecompton, or impracticable fanatics.

The Lecompton Constitution accepted, Kansas in the Union, Calhoun would issue his certificates of election. Who informed this correspondent that he intends to certify to the election of the Free-State officers—the Governor, Secretary of State, &c.? He has never said so. And although he has announced that a majority of Free-State men is elected to the Legislature, how large is that majority? Has be told us? Is it an available, incorruptible one? Has he even the power, having left the Territory, to decide the question at all? And is this correspondent certain that all the Free-State men elected, will resign? How does he know it? But, should this turn out to be true, there would remain the Pro-Slavery State Executive, and a Pro-Slavery minority of the Legislature, who would have the power to adjourn from day to day, until it could compel a quorum. The Pro-Slavery Government instituted under the Lecompton Constitution, which this counsellor proposes to have adopted by Pro-Slavery votes, would be the only legal Government—the Leavenworth Government would be *revolutionary*. In the name of Heaven, are we always to act so as to array the form of Law against us, and, while constituting an overwhelming majority, suffer ourselves to be placed in the attitude of Revolutionists? Commanding four-fifths of the voters of the Territory, shall we permit one-fifth to carry elections by default, and assume the reins of Government, and then attempt to redress ourselves by setting up a Government of force?

If the Free-State men of Kansas trouble themselves no "further with the Lecompton Constitution"—if they take no part in the election held under the English "farce"—in other words, a Law of the United States—the Lecompton Constitution will be adopted, the Lecompton Government will be set up, the Leavenworth Government will be revolutionary, their two Free-State Senators will be rejected, and they and the Republican Party will be placed in a false position before the country, at the mercy of a Party now on the brink of utter defeat. And for what should all these disastrous consequences be hazarded? For a petty Land Grant, which a few persons are so anxious to get hold of that they are willing to see even the Lecompton abomination sanctioned without a protest. We can conceive of no other reason.

We hope the Press of the country and the Press in Kansas will set its face as flint against anything like indirection and trickery. If the Free-State men of Kansas turn out in full force and vote down the proposition, the Lecompton Constitution, they will demonstrate, beyond all possibility of doubt or cavil, that they are really *the People* of Kansas—that the Lecompton Convention *was* illegitimate—that the Lecompton Constitution *is* a fraud—that the Administration and its Party have pursued an unscrupulous and oppressive policy—that their friends in Congress have told the truth, and done right—and the result will teach all future Administrations to beware of fraud and despotism.

As to the effect upon themselves, they need not fear. They will remain in a Territorial condition, but under a free Territorial Government. They will enjoy peace, order, and freedom. They will have no occasion to resort to revolution. They will not attempt to set up a State Government outside of the Union, or encourage any factionists who may desire to overthrow the existing authorities. They can send their Leavenworth Constitution to Congress, ask admission under it, and, if refused, patiently wait till the People of the United States, in the elections soon to take place, respond to their petition by sending to the next House of Representatives a majority of members favorable to it. Then they will be admitted as a State, and receive all the privileges conferred upon the most favored of new States.

OREGON AND MINNESOTA—HOW TO SECURE THE ASCENDENCY OF THE PEOPLE.

Oregon and Minnesota are both applicants for admission as States. Both are non-slaveholding; but both are under the temporary control of the Administration Party, and, if admitted, will be represented in Congress by members of that Party.

Oregon, while prohibiting Slavery, has also forbidden the settlement within her borders of free colored people, and denied them the privilege of suit before her courts. For this barbarism, her admission is opposed by several Republican Senators; while another member of the same Party takes the ground that her population is not sufficient to entitle her to a place in the Union.

In the House, the bill for the admission of Minnesota is opposed by Mr. Sherman, a Republican member, because the enabling act was not strictly complied with, and because the Constitution is not conformed to the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Republicans occupying this position of hostility to the admission of these new free States, certainly give evidence that they are not controlled by sectional considerations. The People will give them credit for honorable motives, whatever may be thought of their policy. Mr. Sherman's respect for the Constitution and Laws is worthy of all praise; and no man who hates injustice can help sympathizing with the indignation of Republican Senators against the mean inhumanity of a majority of the People of Oregon.

And yet, for one, we advocate the admission of both States into the Union. As to the irregularities in the case of Minnesota, under the enabling act, they are effectually remedied by the complete ratification by the People. On a submission of that instrument, we understand, thirty thousand votes were recorded in favor of it, not more than five hundred against it. Republican and Administration Parties united in voting for it.

In the Constitution itself, we see some things that we do not like, but nothing that violates the Constitution of the United States—but, if there be any provision of that kind, it is null and void, and will be so held by the courts, should it ever come before them for their decision. The absence of a provision limiting the term of the representatives in the first Legislature, is a blunder, discreditable enough, but it will doubtless be corrected by those concerned, and it is scarcely necessary to resort to the grave measure of sending the Constitution back, so as to have the whole work done over again. As to the provision allowing persons to vote who, although not fully naturalized, have taken the oath declaring their intention to become citizens, resided in the United States a year, and in the State four months, it may be considered unwise, and not in exact harmony with the policy of the naturalization law, but it is certainly no violation of the Federal Constitution. To the States, not to the Union, belongs the right to say who shall be voters. Were it otherwise, Congress might disfranchise the colored voters of New England and New York.

In relation to Oregon, there is more ground for hesitation. If to vote for her admission implied a sanction to all the provisions of her Constitution, or would enable her to inflict any hardship upon any class of her people, which she may not now inflict, or would tend to increase or prolong the proscription of which she is guilty, we should vote against admission; but this not being the case, certain general considerations would decide our vote in her favor.

Under the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, the Slaveholders claim the right to carry their slaves into any Territory, and their claim is recognised and sustained by the Administration, which appoints no judges who do not concur in that view. Oregon and Minnesota, as Territories, are open to the irruption of Slavery, and their Courts, constituted by the Administration, no doubt stand prepared to carry out the opinions of the majority of the Supreme Court. Only by their admission as a State, can they be rescued from this danger. Give them the power to establish their own Courts, and protect themselves.

Again—it is of vital importance to Liberty, Justice, and the Union, that non-slaveholding States be multiplied. The essential welfare of all races and sections of our country is identified with the extension of free-labor institutions. The Republican Party is committed to the Principle of Equality of Natural and Political Rights. It seeks the control of the Government, and its chances of success depend upon the growth of free States. Oregon, Minnesota, and Kansas, in 1860, will have ten electoral votes!

So long as the Territories remain in a Territorial condition, they are subjected to Administration influence, and this places them under the domination of an Administration Party, which, as we all know, has been, and now is, the instrument of the Slave Power. In this way, the Pro Slavery spirit obtains the mastery in our Territories, and, on their organization as States, if not powerful enough to prevent the exclusion of Slavery, is strong enough to array them at first on the side of the Administration. The longer you keep them in a Territorial condition, the worse it is—for officeholders and Executive patronage are all the while at work. The most effectual remedy for the evil is, to make States of them—give the People an opportunity to elect their own Governors, Attorneys, Executive officers, and their own Judiciary. They will then gradually emancipate themselves from Administration thraldom, and in a few years, the Pro-Slavery Party, which at first controlled them, and determined their legislation, will have given place to a true Republican Party, which will overthrow what will only be perpetuated in a Territorial condition.

Look at Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa—all, a few years ago, under subjection to the Slave Democracy, now redeemed by Republicanism, and to appear in the next Congress with a solid phalanx of Republican Senators.

If you wish to perpetuate the domination of a Pro Slavery President's Party in Oregon and Minnesota, keep them in a Territorial condition, under the President's appointments. If you would inaugurate a People's Party, which shall reflect the great sentiment that now pervades the masses of the Non Slaveholders of the country, and finally establish justice and equality of rights, make States of them.

That is our policy.

EQUILIBRIUM.

Since the admission of California, the struggle of the Extremists of the South has been, for the restoration of the "equilibrium" in the Senate, then disturbed. The desperate game played for Kansas has turned upon this point. Kansas a Slave State, would make the Slave States' delegation in the Senate thirty-two against thirty-two, which, with the Vice-President, would secure the ascendency to Slavery.

The struggle has thus far failed—Kansas seems to be sliding their grasp—and just at this juncture, come Minnesota and Oregon, Free States, knocking for admission. The Republicans have but to say the word, and they are admitted. Straightway the Free-State delegation goes up to thirty-six, to be increased in a short time by Kansas to thirty-eight—thirty-eight against thirty! Equilibrium forever rendered impossible! the dangerous illusion, which has so long misled the South, inflamed its Extreme men, and given them the control of its councils, forever extinguished! A mischievous struggle forever given up! Who can calculate the beneficial consequences?

Shall this all be overlooked, and minor considerations be suffered to overshadow the one great Question?

NEW STATES AND THE RATIO OF POPULATION.

In the brief debate that took place last week in the Senate on the question of admitting Oregon, the principal objection to the bill urged by one of the Republican Senators was, that the population is not sufficient, being less than the ratio of representation for the several States—ninety-three thousand. Oregon, it is said, has only seventy or eighty thousand. New States have hitherto been admitted without much reference to such a consideration, and in the case of Kansas all parties have uniformly disregarded it.

During the last Congress the population of Kansas was twenty-five thousand, and yet Republican Senators and Representatives to a man advocated her admission as a State under the Topeka Constitution. The population is now probably about forty-five or fifty thousand, and yet both Administration and Republican Parties are insisting upon its admission as a State; one, under the Lecompton Constitution, the other, under a Constitution of its own choosing. It is not too much to say that every member of the House and Senate, by his action on the Kansas Question, is estopped from opposing the admission of Oregon, on the ground of her population being less than the ratio of representation. How can any Republican take this ground, in full view of the fact that he stands committed to support the claim of Kansas for admission, when she shall have rejected Lecompton, and again submitted her petition to be received as a State, no matter what her population may be?

We can understand why the Slavery-Propaganda should be anxious, for the time, to adopt a new rule. They have already, in the English Bill, ordained that Kansas may come in as a slave State, with a population of forty-five thousand or less, but, if she persist in her purpose to be a free State, she must wait for admission till she has ninety-three thousand; and they would be glad to adopt the same principle in relation to Oregon—compel her to wait till she reach that point. Why Republicans should give countenance to such a policy, the People will not be able to understand. It is so inconsistent and suicidal in them, that it will never be accepted as the real ground of their opposition to the Oregon bill.

Apart from all connection with the bills now before Congress, it is proposed by some to establish a rule, requiring as a necessary condition to the admission of a State, that it have a population equal to the ratio of representation for the several States, whatever that may be. At first sight, the proposition may seem fair and reasonable, but a little reflection will show that it has no support in precedent, in the Constitution or laws, in reason, in justice, or in the spirit of our institutions.

It is a matter of history that State after State has been admitted, without special reference to this consideration. Neither the Constitution nor any law requires such a condition. The power of Congress under the Constitution to admit new States is discretionary—there is no restriction upon it, nor has it restrained this discretionary power by any law.

Such a rule cannot be sustained by reason; for, what has the fitness of a community to organize and act as a State, to do with an arbitrary amount of population? Why is not a population of fifty thousand souls as able to discharge the functions of a State as a population of a hundred thousand? And is it just to make the admission of new States depend upon a varying rule, having no relation whatsoever to their fitness for self-government—a rule whose operation is necessarily unequal? The ratio of representation has been changed five times since 1793. Down to 1811, it was 33,000; then it was changed to 40,000; then to 47,000; next to 70,680; and now it is 93,423. A State, then, with a population of only 33,000, was fit to be received into the Union from 1793 to 1811; but now, no State should be regarded as possessing this fitness, till it has 93,000! You would adopt a different rule in effect for different States, one purely arbitrary, and having not the slightest reference to their wants or abilities: and hereafter, should it become expedient to raise the ratio of representation to 120,000 or 150,000, the new rule would exclude States until they should attain that growth! The absurdity and injustice of the proposition are palpable.

Finally, the spirit of our free institutions forbids the establishment of any such rule. Fixing a ratio of representation is one thing; admitting new States, another. The considerations that determine the policy in one case, have nothing to do with the policy in the other. There must be a ratio of representation; it must be such as on the whole and in the long run shall operate equally upon the States; and it must be determined by a reference to the efficiency of the House of Representatives—not so low as to make the legislative body unwieldy, disorderly, and inefficient, on account of numbers, not so high as to prevent an ample representation of the people. Owing to the constant growth of population, this consideration necessarily must induce from time to time a change in the ratio.

On the other hand, the general considerations that should regulate the admission of new States are of quite a different kind. The principle of self-government is a fundamental idea of our institutions. We are bound to carry it into effect, wherever we can safely do so. Whenever a Territory, by the number and character of its population, is fitted for full self-government, it has a claim upon us for admission as a State. It will be better governed as a State; and, besides, the spirit of our institutions requires us to guard in every legitimate way against the growth of Centralism—the dangerous increase of Federal Power. Every Territory, in one sense, is an appanage of the Chief Executive—under its control, a nursery of its creatures. Suppose a dozen extensive, wealthy, populous Territories, or Provinces, with Governors, ministerial officers, judges, all at the disposal of the Federal Executive at Washington! The idea is repugnant to the spirit of free institutions. Sound policy demands their release, so soon as possible, from dependence upon the Central Power, and their organization as equal and sovereign States of the Union. If they have not, on entering the Union, a population equal to the repesentative ratio, they have a population large enough for purposes of self government, larger than the ratio of representation under which other States have entered; and, in the present case, it must be recollected, that Kansas and Oregon, each, has a larger population than the fraction, which, under the present apportionment law, is represented by one Representative, in each of thirteen States. We hope that our Republican friends in Congress will consider these things.

POSITION OF PARTIES.

Shall they be reversed? The Administration is on the defensive, on the Lecompton issue, and we all anticipate the verdict of the country. We hold it to a severe account. Are the Republicans willing to sink this issue, and raise another, on which they shall stand arrayed, as the opponents of free States? If so, let them vote against the admission of Oregon and Minnesota.

A strange attitude—the champions of free labor resisting the increase of free-labor States!

What though the new States do present themselves as Administration States, have you any right to keep them out on that ground? Would the People sanction such a policy?

What though in Minnesota the election for members of Congress were carried by fraud? The Constitution was not carried by fraud, but adopted by the whole people, with the exception of a few hundred voters. Is it fit to reject their almost unanimous act, done without fraud, in one case, because, in another act, it is alleged that one of the parties committed fraud? Besides—not on the question of the admission of the State, but on the application of the representatives for seats in Congress, can the allegations of fraud be heard and examined.

What though Minnesota does admit to suffrage persons of foreign birth, who have taken the oath of naturalization, resided in the country one year, and within the State four months, has she not a right to do so? Has not every State a right to determine the qualification of its own voters? Away with the assumption which would invest the Central Power with the right to dictate to the States who shall be voters! And, after all, what great evil in this alien suffrage, as it is called? A German goes into Minnesota, buys a farm, settles with his family, becomes an industrious cultivator, contributes to the wealth of the State, pays taxes, and, yet, because he has not been five years in the country, you would debar him the right of self-government! You would tax his property, but give him no voice in representation! We do not believe in that doctrine.

In the case of Oregon, you would exclude her, because, under Administration influence, she has adopted a provision excluding free colored persons. That provision is mean and wicked—more of an insult, however, than a hardship, for it will prove, as similar provisions in other free States have proved, a dead letter. But, how are you to remedy it by postponing the bill till next December, and keeping her under the same influence which begot the monstrosity? The same Constitution will again come before you. Will you reject it, and remand her to her Territorial condition? How long before you can generate sound Republicanism under the brooding wings of the Administration? If you hope to bring about a better state of sentiment in Oregon, make a free State of her, banish the Federal Executive as far as you can, and give the friends of justice there a chance to organize a sound Party, without being crushed as they have been.

Here, also, Republicans are committed by previous action. The Free-State men of Kansas did not exactly incorporate into their Topeka Constitution, a clause excluding colored people, but they did adopt separately an article, instructing the first Legislature, under that Constitution, to exclude them; and yet there was not a Republican in Congress who did not vote to receive Kansas into the Union, with that Constitution and that provision. They would not sink the greater issue in the less—they would admit Kansas, knowing that sound reforms could be more readily effected under a State organization than under a Territorial. Were we one of the class thus proscribed, we should say, admit Oregon—better make her a *free State*, than keep her a *slave Territory*. The Anti-Slavery men in Oregon will have a better chance for success under a Free-State organization, than they have now under a Slave-Territorial organization.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

The State Department is in possession of all the facts attending the assault on the American missionary, Walter Dixon; the violence committed on his wife and daughter, and the murder of his son-in-law, Steinbeck, in Jaffa. J. W. Gorham, United States Consul at Jerusalem, aided by Consul General De Leon, after much labor, succeeded in having the five criminals arrested, four of whom confessed their guilt on the trial, and at the last accounts the firman, from Constantinople, for their execution, was all that was needed to consummate the tragedy they had commenced, by the forfeit of their own lives as an expiation. The testimony of Mrs. and Miss Dickson reveals shocking details in regard to the outrage committed upon them. The State Department has sent letters to Mr. Gorham and Mr. De Leon, complimenting and applauding their conduct in the affair.

Both Houses of Congress now meet at eleven in the morning, and will do so the remainder of the session. This looks like an adjournment on the 7th of June.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Post* says that in case Kansas votes down Lecompton, two members of the Cabinet will resign. Also, that Mr. Weer has been informed that he cannot go back to Kansas as United States Attorney unless he will *vote* for Lecompton there. We very much doubt the truth of these rumors, especially the first, but record them for the edification of our readers. The Administration is capable of anything in Kansas. The people there must look out for and prevent fraud.

The President will not designate his acceptance of the two volunteer regiments till the appropriation bills are passed. This excites considerable indignation from certain parties, who claim that it was promised that when the deficiency bill passed the regiments should be selected.

The House Committee on Elections will soon make their reports on the Ohio contested election case. Stephens, Lamar, &c., report in favor of giving Vallandingham the seat now occupied by Campbell. Gilmer, Wilson, &c., report in favor of Mr. Campbell. Mr. Harris, chairman of the committee, will report in favor of vacating the seat, and referring the question back to the to the people.

Judge Loring, of Massachusetts, has been confirmed by the Senate to fill the vacancy in the Court of Claims occasioned by the death of Judge Gilchrist.

"Ion," of the Baltimore *Sun*, says:

"The Administration are desirous, as is stated, that the resolution authorizing the President to adopt such measures and use such force as in his judgment may be necessary for the adjustment of the differences with Paraguay, which has passed the Senate, also pass the House without delay. Whatever measures are to be adopted should be resorted to immediately, for the affair is becoming rather stale. It will be the readiest means of obtaining redress, to authorize the President to use force, if satisfaction be refused. The Paraguayan Government has offered to enter into a treaty covering all the points of difference, when we send an envoy, with the necessary powers. Whether a special minister is to be sent to negotiate a treaty, or whether the United States Minister at Buenos Ayres will be charged with the duty, is said to be undetermined.

"The bankrupt bill introduced, on leave, in the Senate, by Mr. Benjamin, has not been printed yet, but its provisions are of a general and permanent nature, and the expediency of the measure can be sustained by argument and facts. The existence of such a system would prevent many of the disasters which attend the sudden revulsions in trade which periodically visit us."

It is rumored on the Avenue, that the Ohio Democratic delegation in Congress waited upon the President, last week, to request the continuance in office of Mr. Gray, of the Cleveland (Ohio) *Plaindealer;* but the President would not hear of the thing, inasmuch as Mr. Gray had opposed the Senate Kansas bill. If this is true, the prospect for those Anti-Lecompton Democrats who finally supported the English Compromise, as Mr. Gray supported that measure, is not very flattering.

It is doubtful if the Campbell contested election case will be decided at this session. Its consideration would give rise to interminable discussion, and the vote would be a very close one, at any rate.

The Review.

Life Thoughts; gathered from the Extemporaneous Discourses of Henry Ward Beecher. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1855. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

There are not many living preachers from whose sermons a more choice selection of beautiful, glowing, and original thoughts could be gathered, than those of Henry Ward Beecher. He abounds in rich and varied illustrations, drawn from the fields of nature and art, and struck out by a habit of nice observation of human character in the different phases of life. A keen critical acumen may discern, indeed, that sometimes the most striking comparisons, as they appear at first sight, will not always bear a close examination, but there will still enough be left, after any required deduction, to warrant the statement we have made. Much always depends, in such a book, on the person who culls and binds up the flowers that form the garland. In this case, Mr. Beecher has been fortunate. It was evidently done *con amore*, and the copious index enables the reader at once to turn to any subject mentioned. He will thus find vividly presented some thoughts of high meaning, sometimes in quaint and homely words, and sometimes shaped and wrought out in language of great beauty, suggestive and well fitted often to call forth from each one's mind processes of reflection, hints of which only lie in the few lines that contain them. It will be a popular book, and though it can scarcely be ranked with Cecil's, Robert Hall's, or John Foster's grand and massive Michael-Angelo-like studies for the Christian, yet we trust it will bear weighty and solemn truths to multitudes who otherwise might not care to think of it.

The Eclectic Magazine for May, 1855.

Mr. Bidwell, in this number of his excellent Magazine, presents us with two finely-engraved plates, by Sartain, and the usual well-selected variety of articles from foreign periodicals. The first of the engravings is the portrait of the Earl of Shaftesbury, President of the British and Foreign Bible Society; the other, "A Literary Party at Sir Joshua Reynolds's," similar to the one recently given of Sir Walter Scott and his friends.

The Atlantic Monthly, May, 1858. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.

This Monthly, too, we believe, fulfilled the expectations cherished in regard to it. It was begun in November, and the first volume, consisting of seven numbers, is now completed. Steadily has it grown in reputation, and its success, we learn, is established beyond a contingency. The next volume will also contain seven numbers, so that thereafter the volumes will begin with January.

The Shadow on the Hearth; or, Our Father's voice in taking away our little ones. By a Bereaved Parent. With an Introduction by N. L. Rice, D. D., Chicago, Illinois. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1858. For sale by W. Ballantyne, Washington, D. C.

There is many a shaded hearth; there is many an aching heart. Buds of promise have dropped from many a stock that has strove upward, amid the rain and sunshine, till there came a frost, a killing frost, and nipped them from the parent stem. The grieved spirit, so stricken, looks round to mark the desolation, and feels as none but another who has shared in a like woe can feel. It is such a one who has written and compiled this book, and the bereaved and mourners will best be able to appreciate its value.

The New American Cyclopedia. Edited by George Ripley and Charles A. Dana. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by Shillington & Co., Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

We need hardly add a word to the high commendation bestowed on this work on the appearance of the first volume. The best writers are contributing their best offerings to it. The first edition was disposed of in less than a fortnight. The third volume will be issued in June.

The majority of contributors are American authors; peculiar prominence is given to American topics, and the mode of treating them is eminently popular. In all these respects it is adapted to the wants of the country. Of course, we cannot expect to find in it the profound scholarship, the fulness and the accuracy of European works of a similar order, but, with less pedantry, it may be far more useful to the masses of the People.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Vol. VII. Boston: Littell, Brown, & Co. For sale by William Morrison, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

Having gone through our Colonial History, Bancroft in this volume commences the History of the American Revolution, which, he says, divides itself into two epochs; the first extending to the Declaration of Independence, the second, to the acknowledgment of that Independence by Great Britain. He rises with his subject, treating it sometimes as a philosopher, sometimes as an orator; considering it, not as an isolated event, belonging to our country alone, but a great fact, springing from universal laws, involving the interests and rights of mankind. Brilliant in narrative, and glowing with patriotic feeling, the volume affords a remarkable contrast to Hildreth's plain, unambitious, severe account of the same transactions.

UNPLEASANT.—It must be not a little unpleasant to such men as Messrs. Cox, Lawrence, Groesbeck, and other Northern Democrats, who finally went for the compromise Kansas bill, that the ultra Southern journals nearly all approve the measure. The Richmond *South* exults over its passage through Congress as a Southern triumph. Is the *South* apt to be satisfied with a mockery? The Charleston *Courier* says that Kansas enters the Confederacy under Lecompton—or not at all, and claims a triumph over Northern sentiment. The Conservative presses South seem to doubt the wisdom of the compromise, while the Ultras—papers which advocate the reopening of the African Slave Trade—chronicle its passage with great rejoicing.

THE MORMONS.

The polygamists of Utah seem to have cooled down a little from the excitement they were in when they first learned that a United States army was marching upon them. We apprehend that they will be still less excited when they get a report of the debates in Congress this session upon Utah.

Files of the *Deseret News* are before us, but we find little in them worthy of notice. The reports of sermons delivered at Salt Lake are always the most readable part of the *News*, as the Mormon preachers discuss politics at large in the pulpit, and indeed it is about all they do discuss. Elder Taylor gives his opinion of the Utah army and of the Mormons in the following language. We quote from his sermon:

"If you had been among those fellows out eastward, you would have been worse off a great deal. I would rather be in our position than be in theirs. 'But the future,' say you. 'How do we know but next spring they will come in here and swallow us completely up?' Brother Brigham says we 'shall have to be greased first.' And there is no grease on their cattle to do it at present. What do we know about these things? I speak, so that we may reflect upon them. 'We would a little rather those men were away somewhere else.' I do not know that I would. I feel that, notwithstanding our inexperience, and the many blunders we make, and the various evils many of us fall into, we are the best people there is under the face of the heavens; and that God has called us, and set us apart, and placed his name among us, and given unto us the oracles of God, to reveal unto us his mind and will, that by us he may establish his kingdom on the earth.

"In relation to anything that has or may transpire, I feel that we are in the hands of God, and all is right. 'But we would like to have whipped those fellows out,' so say some of us. 'We would like to see them turn tail, too, and go off their own way.' But I would not, because the Lord would not. I feel perfectly easy, that I am in the hands of God, and everything I have, and so are you, and we are his people, and he is our God, and his Spirit dictates, rules, controls, and governs; and while we do right, and keep the commandments of God, and live up to our privileges, we have a right to claim the Spirit of God, and live in the enjoyment of it every moment of our lives."

This is certainly a heavenly state of mind, and we trust Elder Taylor will not lose it, should "those fellows out eastward" not only not "turn tail," but enter Utah, and enforce something like decent law in Utah.

Brigham Young, preaching in defence of the infallibility of bishops, and of course himself as their head, says, in a Sunday sermon:

"I will liken the bishops to some of those side pipes laid down to conduct the gas. Take a joint of one of those pipes up, which, in the comparison we will call a bishop, and how are the inhabitants of that ward to receive the light? Place him to one side, despise his counsels, and how are you to be taught? Will you teach each other? You are not called to do it in that capacity. Your bishop is laid down by the Master Workman, as the conductor of the Holy Ghost to you; if you put that conductor out of its place, the connection is broken between you and the fountain of light. If you see a bishop and his ward in contention and confusion, you may understand that the pipe or conductor which conveys the light of that people is out of its place. Instead of the bishop's being wrong and the people right, or the people wrong and the bishop right, they are all wrong; there is little or no right there.

"Take any man in this kingdom, and if the people say that they will make him a president, or a bishop, or elect him to fill any other office, and the faith of the people is concentrated to receive light through that officer or pipe, laid by the power of the priesthood from the throne of God, you might as well try to move the heavens, as to receive anything wrong through that conductor. No matter who you elect for an officer, if your faith is concentrated in him through whom to receive the things which he is appointed to administer in, light will come to you. And let a presiding officer, or a bishop, turn away from righteousness, the Lord Almighty would give him the lock-jaw, if he could not stop his mouth in any other way, or send a fit of numb palsy on him, so that he could not act, as sure as the people over whom he presided were right, that they might not be led astray."

This is convenient doctrine for the bishops, if the people can be made to believe it, and there seems to be no trouble upon that score.

LECOMPTON IN THE ELECTIONS.

Already we have a foretaste of the people's vengeance for the men who have misrepresented Northern sentiment upon the Kansas question. In Philadelphia, the Administration candidate for Mayor was beaten by over 4,000 majority, and that, too, in a Democratic stronghold. Forney's *Press* gives us the reason for this wonderful result in the following language:

"The causes which produced this result are so plain, that they may be understood by all men. The test that the support of a miserable swindle should be made the touch-stone of fidelity to the Democratic party, and the scandalous character of this swindle itself, in their effect upon other organizations, paralyzed the Democracy on the one hand, and organized, consolidated, and strengthened a new party on the other. The Federal patronage in this city had been distributed on the same theory, of punishing men who had been true to principle, and of rewarding those who had deserted it. All these causes made the people eager for a chance to speak out, and the election yesterday was the first great occasion that presented to the voters of this powerful city to express their sentiment.

"Mr. Vaux, the Democratic candidate for Mayor, had given no public expression on the disturbing question of the day. The Convention that nominated him refused to endorse Lecompton. Although thousands of men voted for him because of his silence on this question, who never would have touched his ticket had he taken ground for Lecompton, and although he was backed by his own immense patronage, and by that of the Federal Government, and by the prestige of the party nomination, yet it is clear that thousands of Democrats staid away from the polls, or openly voted against him.

"Mr. Henry, on the other hand, was nominated as the Anti-Lecompton candidate. He and his friends went before the people, armed with the record of the scandalous frauds in Kansas, the proscriptions and tests of the advocates of Lecompton, and, above all, with the creed of the Democratic party on the subject of popular sovereignty. Their speakers and their writers made this the burden of their appeals. The result is before the world.

"Their appeals were answered by the loss to the Democratic party of this proud metropolis; by the loss of thousands of Old-Line Whigs who voted with us in 1856, on the strength of our pledges; by the loss of the German vote; and by the loss of many thousands of Democrats, who either refused to go to the polls or voted for Henry. As if to make bad worse, the English trick came in, just in time to aggravate the public feeling, and to reanimate the People's party.

"Such is the penalty which the Democratic party is compelled to pay for this unfortunate and fatal policy."

In Indianapolis the Democrats have been soundly beaten, and the Republicans are triumphant. This is a severe reprimand to Mr. English, and to Messrs. Bright and Fitch. The Philadelphia election reminds Messrs. Phillips and Owen Jones, of that city, that they are doomed, politically, for their conduct upon the Kansas bill.

It is said that Ohio is to be rewarded for the defection of its Douglas men on Lecompton, by taking a regiment of volunteers for Utah from that State. It is suggested that this will be a substantial benefit, in ridding the State of a part of her vagabonds.

KANSAS NEWS.

The *N. Y. Times* has sent its regular Washington correspondent, Mr. Simonton, to Kansas to gather reliable news in that Territory for its readers. We make a few extracts from his letters:

"In my letter of yesterday's date I presented a view of the divisions of sentiment in Leavenworth. That view applies equally to the entire Territory, except that outside some of the river towns, and in the neighborhood of Fort Scott, there is no remnant of a party having the least disposition even to embarrass the Free-State men. *There are almost no Pro-Slavery men in Kansas to-day.* Border Ruffian oppressions have been so fearfully retaliated by Free-State men since the latter were first aroused to armed resistance, that the Pro-Slavery minority have been compelled to flee the Territory which themselves had made too hot to hold them. *The question of Slavery here is settled, and forever—no matter how many Lecompton Constitutions are attempted to be enforced.* You of the East do not fully realize this fact, or *did* not when I left New York for Kansas. Slavery has no foothold, and can never get it here; nor can the Lecompton Constitution ever be carried into operation, even if passed by Congress—that is to say, by some means or other, peaceably or forcibly, be the consequences what they may, the people will never consent that it shall have any *practical* effect. It may stand as a law for a brief period, but it will be utterly dead and inoperative.

But although the people of Kansas stand as one man, almost, against Slavery and Lecompton, they are seriously divided otherwise. Among the evils which always follow civil war, none is more prominent than the consequent spirit of intense intolerance. Kansas has passed through a civil war, not half the horrors of which have yet been told, and her private animosities and intolerance can hardly be conceived in a community like your own. This adds an unfortunate bitterness to all their political differences. Scarce a man here is able to concede a particle of honesty to the neighbor whose views differ from his own in the slightest degree, and confidence in each other is destroyed the moment the least variance is discovered. You will readily perceive what, then, must be the state of feeling of these men against Calhoun, Clarkson, Henderson, Jones, Pate, Titus, and all others who are considered to have been among their Pro-Slavery oppressors, or towards any who are suspected of sympathizing with them. I do not believe that Calhoun's life would be safe a day, even in this commercial centre, and naturally, therefore, the most conservative of the Free-State strongholds. Clarkson, the Postmaster, who went to Washington with the bogus election returns, and labored zealously for the success of Lecompton, has never dared to show his face here since. He came up the river two or three weeks ago, but was met at the boat by a friend, who warned him of the danger of landing. He accordingly passed on to Weston, whence, it is understood, he has returned to Washington."

This was written before the passage of the Conference bill was known in Kansas.

"It will take time to soften the asperities born of the past, and humanize again the noble men and women here, whose hearts have been steeped in bitterness and woe, until their very natures seem changed. Nothing will tend so much to produce this desirable result, as the absolute death of the Lecompton Constitution; for that is looked upon as the embodiment of all the iniquities of the past—the long concocted point of outrage—the concentration and consummation of all for which the Ruffians have struggled, and in resistance to which the Free-State martyrs fell. When the Lecompton swindle is dead, every Federal office-holder in the Territory who has been mixed up in the least degree with these partisan strifes should be promptly removed; for their retention by the National Administration is necessarily considered to be a public endorsement of their acts; and thus the irritation of the people is individually kept alive and augmented rather than allayed. The notorious Emory, for instance, the leader of the murderers of Phillips, has, since that deed of horror, been rewarded with one of the best offices in the Territory. Unless I mistake the feeling of abhorrence with which he is looked upon, if Mr. Buchanan does not remove him soon, the grave-digger will, for in an unguarded moment he will find upon his track some avenger of blood as remorseless as the friends whose scorn of a tender woman's tearful entreaties drove her reason from its throne. I write not of what *ought* to be, but of what *is*, and I would not give a straw for Emory's life, when convenient opportunity offers in which to sacrifice it upon Phillips's grave."

"Gen. Lane, with all his ultraism, has a remarkable hold upon and influence over the Free-State masses, notwithstanding very many, even of the radicals, totally disapprove his course, as unwise, and calculated to do serious harm to the cause which he espouses. He arrived here on Wednesday morning, having travelled thirty-five miles, from Lawrence, during the night, on horseback, for the purpose of addressing the people in favor of the Leavenworth Constitution. The meeting was held the same evening, in front of the *Times* office. Not less than two thousand persons were present, and the windows of the surrounding buildings were filled with ladies who came to hear the discussion, General Lane having, in his announcement, invited the opponents of that instrument to meet him in a review of its advantages and objections. The General opened the ball, but had not proceeded far when he was interrupted with demoniac yells, hisses, groans, &c. He proceeded steadily, however, and got through, although much of his speech was lost in the confusion.

"Thomas Ewing, jr., followed, eloquently and ably presenting his feelings against the Free Suffrage clause at some length. His remarks were cheered by the Conservatives, and also by the company of two or three hundred Irishmen, whose prejudices had been highly excited against the 'voting niggers.' It soon became apparent that they were being urged on by some Pro-Slavery ruffians, prominent among whom, as the evidence clearly shows, was Franklin, notwithstanding that he denies it. Of course, it was their policy to applaud Ewing, which they did with a will, until he declared that, notwithstanding his objections, in view of all the circumstances, he would vote in favor of the Leavenworth Constitution. This was received with groans and other demonstrations of disdain—the friends of the Constitution meanwhile having refrained from any participation in the excitement. After Ewing, came Mr. H. P. Johnson, a slaveholder, who brought many slaves into the Territory when he first immigrated. Mr. Johnson sustained the Leavenworth Constitution throughout, and proceeded to reply to Mr. Ewing's argument, when he, too, was greeted with hisses, yells, and groans, from the disturbers, among whom Franklin was distinctly recognised, patting the rioters upon the back, and encouraging them to the work. Their conduct chagrined and disgusted the conservative Free-State men quite as much as the Radicals, the former of whom appear to have been in no degree responsible for their disgraceful conduct."

The Senate has confirmed Mr. Denver as Governor of Kansas, and Mr. Walsh, of Mississippi, as Secretary of the Territory. Mr. Walsh has been Mr. Denver's private secretary. This makes the election board, who are to count the votes for and against Lecompton, "sound on the goose." The ticket nominated by the Free-State men for State officers under the Leavenworth Constitution is as follows:

Gor Governor, Henry J. Adams, (present Mayor of Leavenworth;) Lieutenant Governor, T. Dwight Thatcher; Secretary of State, W. F. N. Arny; Auditor, G. S. Hillyer; Attorney General, Charles A. Foster; Treasurer, Henry Harvey; Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. M. Walden; Commissioner of Common School Fund, F. M. Blake; Judges of Supreme Court, S. N. Latta, Morris Hunt, C. K. Holliday; United States Senators, James H. Lane, William A. Phillips; Representative in Congress, M. F. Conway.

The nominations for United States Senators are probably intended as recommendations to the Legislature, by which of course they can alone be chosen. All these nominations seem to be from the extreme Free-State party, "the Topekaites," as they are called, from their sink-or-swim attachment to the Topeka Government. The absence of such names as Governor Robinson, Mr. Parrott, the present member of Congress, and Gen. Pomeroy, will be observed, and we fear bodes a division on the question of accepting the Lecompton Constitution. Mr. Phillips, the associate of Gen. Lane for United States Senator, is the correspondent of the New York *Tribune*.

Mr. Conway, the President of the Leavenworth Convention, has issued his proclamation for an election on the third Tuesday in May, when the Constitution will be voted upon, and State officers elected. It is stated that Gov. Denver and his Secretary have made a new count of the votes for State officers under Lecompton, and they now elect a Pro Slavery majority to the Legislature, as well as the whole list of Pro-Slavery State officers. It is expected that Calhoun will revise his decision accordingly.

The Leavenworth correspondent of the New York *Tribune* reports a collision between the United States troops and a party of Free-State men in the vicinity of Fort Scott. The Free-State men had been visiting several Pro-Slavery settlers on the Marmaton, who were concerned in the recent murder of two Free-State men on the Osage, and had warned them to quit the Territory within a certain time, and taken their arms and ammunition. The Pro-Slavery men reported the matter at the Fort, and a party of troops were sent in pursuit. They overtook eight of the Free-State men, who retreated to a wood, and stood upon the defensive. When the troops came up, they ordered them to halt; but the troops still coming on, the Free State men fired, killing one dragoon and wounding the captain and two others. The dragoons returned the fire, but without effect, and then returned to the fort. Further difficulties were anticipated, as the troops are used only to protect the Pro-Slavery ruffians, and to punish the Free-State men whenever they attempt defence or retaliation.

SIMON BERNARD.—This gentleman's trial in London, as an accessory before the fact to the murder of one of the victims of the plot to assassinate Louis Napoleon, resulted in his acquittal, which was the occasion of great rejoicing in England. The trial seems to have been a test of Napoleonic feeling in England. The evidence was apparently against Bernard, but so strong was the feeling against Louis Napoleon, and in favor of English liberty, that the jury did not wait long to acquit the accused. It was *proven* that Bernard furnished Orsini and his confederates with infernal machines and instruments of death, but it was not clearly proved that he furnished any of the grenades which did the mischief at Paris. The jury, disliking to give a verdict which might satisfy Napoleon, took advantage of this flaw in the evidence to clear Bernard. The Paris *Univers* says of this trial:

"An English jury has acquitted Simon Bernard. The English people have saluted with hurrahs the crowning act of the proceeding. The English judges, though compelled to retain the accused, have, as far as they could, associated themselves with the scandal of his acquittal, by admitting him to bail. It is all complete, and it is all disgusting. Nothing is wanting. While the trial was proceeding, Mazzini published a pamphlet, which was copied by several papers, and in which insolence and insults against the Emperor exceed the most revolting language which the refugees ever previously used. If the English Government did not wish for this result, the *Times* it is that rules public opinion. If it wished for such a result, in that case the *Times* has been the organ of its ideas. In either case, France is enlightened as to the real feelings of England. As we neither answer for nor are the champions of modern civilization in general, and of English civilization in particular, we have nothing more to say.

"Between the two powerful and friendly nations arises a discussion on what may be called the question of assassins. One of these two nations decides the question to the detriment of the other, and in favor of the assassins. This is the last feature, and one of the most remarkable of European policy in the nineteenth century. Let us be candid, and add that, in the real position of affairs, the infamous cheers of the London prætorium appear to us far preferable to the dull compliments with which the Municipal Council of Dover fatigued the frankness of the Duke de Malakoff on the previous day. In their display of loyalty, these compliments were no doubt very English, but the cheers raised in triumph for Simon Bernard were the heart of England herself."

This is extravagant, and is not the mind of the Emperor. The leading men of Paris know well enough why Bernard was acquitted, and the best men of Paris are glad of the result.

BACKED DOWN.—Three prominent Democratic papers in the West, which at first opposed the Senate Kansas bill, backed down upon the Compromise, and mounted the Lecompton platform. They are the Detroit (Michigan) *Free Press*, the Cleveland *Plaindealer*, and the Columbus (Ohio) *Statesman*. The course pursued by these journals will have its effect upon the Western Democracy, but cannot carry the entire party with the Administration. An important wing will not go back to the Slavery-Extension organization, and without it every Western State is triumphantly Opposition.

The popular authoress, Mrs. Southworth, divides her time, when not writing, between an invalid sister—her only own sister—who is fading away in consumption, while her spirit of resignation makes her sick bed beautiful as the passing flowers of spring, and her only son, who is prostrate with the same incurable disease. Gifted with talents and an ardent love of study, just entering that age when the forming character and opening truths of manhood are watched with interest by a mother, it is a severe affliction to her. There is always some bow in the cloud to call forth grateful thoughts; and the untiring industry of the authoress has surrounded her family with comfort, although she cannot dispense with her daily task. Comparatively a few years since, in an humble apartment, with this son confined to his bed, with the ardent desire of a mother to provide comforts for her children, which her salary as teacher of a public school did not enable her to procure, she commenced her career as a writer for the *National Era*. She has gone on from one success to another, retaining her simplicity of character, more grateful for what her pen has enabled her to do for those dependent upon her, than elated by her success as a writer of works which are extensively read in this country and abroad.—*Cor. of Cour. & En.*

Indianapolis City Election.

The city election yesterday resulted in a most utter and overwhelming defeat of the Lecomptonites. The whole Republican ticket was elected by a vote of near three hundred majority—the largest ever given in any city election, and is the largest vote ever polled here. Such a result, following right upon the consummation of the great fraud, is the most unequivocal indication of the feeling of the people toward it that could be given. It says, in no weak and doubtful tones, that the Lecompton villainy, plain or disguised, bare or covered with English garments, is known, detested, and repudiated. It tells the recreant representation of Indiana that their doom is fixed, and the prices they have sold their integrity for is their seal of enduring infamy. It is a great victory, not only for the city, but for the country. Our opponents never worked so energetically or so constantly, never spent as much money or time, in any election before. Every appliance of electioneering, from imported votes to lager beer, was used to the utmost. Every corner of the city was penetrated and canvassed, and every voter was talked to and worked upon. No effort was spared in any direction. But the worst defeat that the Democracy ever suffered has been the result. To the Germans, who hate Slavery with a genuine hate, and who have stood fast against all appeals to their prejudices, and against a perfect storm of lies about the Republicans; and to many of the Irish, who find that the Lecomptonites use them, but never pay them, and that no Irishman is ever elected by Democrats, as well as to the steadfast Republican vote, this result is attributable. It shows how the people regard the work their representatives have done.—*Indianapolis Journal, May 6.*

Mrs. Duncan, mother of Mary Lundie Duncan, whose memoir was expurgated of its Anti-Slavery features by the pious thimble-riggers of the Tract Society, writes in a letter from Scotland: "I want you to tell me if Dr. Cheever has been brought unscathed out of his manly and Christian declaration against bondage? We honor *him* much as your people honor our Havelock."

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS,

FIRST SESSION.

Tuesday, May 4, 1858.

SENATE.

Mr. Brown asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill for the preservation of order and protection of persons and property in the District of Columbia; which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

This bill provides that on occasions when large assemblages of the people take place, or when any riot, violence, disorder, and breach of the peace, shall occur, or there is reason to apprehend that such is meditated, the United States marshal for the District of Columbia, with the approbation of the President, may appoint by warrant such number of deputy marshals as each occasion may require, to prevent or repress, by force and arms if necessary, any of such evils; and he may summon such number of citizens as any extraordinary occasion may require, as a *posse comitatus*, to aid in the duty; and the President may, if he should deem the occasion to require it, order out the militia, or any other military force, or the volunteers of the District of Columbia, under their proper officers. Each deputy marshal shall take an oath for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall be entitled to receive four dollars per day during the time he may be employed, subject to a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars for the neglect or violation of duty; and each citizen summoned on the *posse comitatus* shall be allowed two dollars per day, and shall be subject to a penalty not exceeding one hundred dollars for neglecting or refusing to attend. The bill also provides, that should any riot, violence, disorder, or breach of the peace, occur in the city of Washington, requiring, in the opinion of the President, the appointment or calling out of any part of the force hereby authorized, one-half of the expense thereof shall be borne by the corporation.

Resolution adopted.—On motion by Mr. Mason, a resolution was adopted, that on Monday next, the 10th instant, and thereafter until the further order of the Senate, the daily hour of meeting of the Senate shall be eleven o'clock A. M.

Difficulties with Paraguay.—On motion by Mr. Mason, the Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution for the adjustment of the difficulties with the Republic of Paraguay.

The question pending was on the motion of Mr. Collamer to strike out the words, "and use such force."

Mr. Mason said that the adoption of the amendment would destroy the whole effect of the joint resolution.

Mr. Collamer replied, that in that case its effect ought to be destroyed.

The question being taken, the amendment was agreed to—yeas 21, nays 19—as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Bayard, Broderick, Chandler, Collamer, Crittenden, Doolittle, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Hamlin, Harlan, Johnson of Arkansas, Johnson of Tennessee, Jones, King, Mallory, Seward, Stuart, Trumbull, and Wade—21.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Benjamin, Bigler, Brown, Clay, Dixon, Douglas, Evans, Fitzpatrick, Green, Houston, Hunter, Iverson, Mason, Polk, Sebastian, Simmons, Slidell, and Toombs—19.

Mr. Mason then moved that the joint resolution lie on the table; which was agreed to.

Fishing Bounties.—On motion by Mr. Clay, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill repealing all laws or parts of laws allowing bounties to vessels employed in the bank and cod fisheries. Mr. Clay stated the grounds upon which the bill was based, and showed that the business of cod fishing is a local interest, and one which is confined to a small class.

Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, next succeeded in calling up the bill amendatory of the acts in relation to the printing of Congress, and introducing very important modifications in this department of service. The bill, after having been read, was explained by Mr. Johnson, who expressed the hope that its provisions would result in an annual saving of a million of dollars to the Government. A few amendments were suggested and adopted; after which, the bill was passed by the Senate, which then adjourned.

HOUSE.

Resolutions were reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, relative to the arrest of William Walker and his followers, which were withdrawn on account of some irregularity. Also, a resolution in favor of the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which, after some discussion, and the defeat of a motion to lay on the table, was postponed until to-day. Also, a resolution authorizing the President to adopt stringent measures for the settlement of our differences with Paraguay, which was referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union.

The Minnesota bill was taken up, and the previous question having been voted down, it was debated by Messrs. Kingsbury of Minnesota, Jenkins of Virginia, and Grow of Pennsylvania, in its favor; and Messrs. Sherman of Ohio, and Garnett of Virginia, in opposition. Amendments were proposed by Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, giving the new State three Representatives in Congress; by Mr. Garnett, allowing her but one Representative; by Mr. Sherman, referring the Constitution back to a new Convention; and by Mr. Grow, providing for Congressional districts.

Personal Explanation.—Mr. Lawrence, of Ohio, made some remarks in reply to the speech of Mr. Campbell, of Ohio, in which that gentleman had charged that Mr. Lawrence had agreed with other anti-Lecompton Democrats to stand by the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment to the bitter end, and to vote against all other propositions. Mr. Lawrence denied that he had ever made any such agreement.

Mr. Harris, of Illinois, said that Mr. Campbell had said the other day that those Democrats who acted against Lecompton, as he understood, made a pledge, in which their personal honor was involved, to stand by the Montgomery-Crittenden amendment to the bitter end, and to go for nothing else. He was never a party to any such arrangement. He was willing to stand by that as the best one, but he could have supported many propositions better than it.

Mr. Marshall, of Illinois, said he was never, directly or indirectly, a party to anything binding himself to anything. He had been controlled by the dictates of his own judgment, and nothing else. He had never given any pledge.

Mr. Harris said he was prepared, however, to go for nothing that departed from the principles of that amendment.

Mr. Washburn, of Maine, said he was very reluctant in giving his support to the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment, and should not have done it, had he not known that twenty anti-Lecompton Democrats would vote against any other proposition. His apprehensions were so strong, knowing the history of previous transactions of Congress, that he made an inquiry for the purpose of satisfying himself beyond a doubt, and he believed he had from conversation he had with gentlemen not of the Republican party. He understood them to say that they would vote for nothing else, agree to no committee of conference, but at all times vote against a committee of conference. He therefore had put the agreement in writing. First, that they would adopt the Crittenden substitute with an amendment; second, that they would vote for the substitute if the bill was adopted; and third, that if the Senate non-concurred, insisted upon the original bill, and asked for a committee of conference, the House would vote down the motion to insist, and adhere. At the meeting at which he was present, this agreement was read, and a copy of it was taken by an anti-Lecompton Democrat——

A number of voices. "Who was it?"

Mr. Stevenson, of Kentucky, inquired whether any South Americans had agreed to the arrangement.

Mr. Marshall would state, for the edification of his colleague, that he had understood that proposition, and had agreed to it. He did not understand that they were to go for no other proposition, but he did understand that they agreed to adhere to the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment and stand to it, and he thought his colleague would do him the credit to say that he kept his bargain.

Mr. Underwood, of Kentucky, desired to say to the House and the country, that so far as his action was concerned, he had no compact, understanding, or agreement. He acted upon his sense of duty, and did what he thought right.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, inquired who it was that took a copy of the agreement.

Mr. Washburn replied, that many had seen the paper, and that all of them had given assurances that they might be relied upon to agree to no committee of conference.

Mr. Clark, of New York, asked the gentleman from Maine to whom he had reference.

Mr. Washburn said there were several present when it was read, and the copy taken, and he had been told that at least twenty knew of the paper.

Mr. Campbell repeated the substance of what he had said the other morning, when they were about to take the final vote. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. Washburn] had stated the truth. That programme was agreed to with the distinct understanding that unless the ninety-two Republicans agreed to it, unless at least twenty Anti-Lecompton Democrats agreed to it, and at least six South Americans agreed to it, all parties were to be released by mutual understanding.

Mr. Clark, of New York, said that the *Crittenden-Montgomery* amendment had been submitted at a meeting of Anti-Lecompton Democrats at which he was present, and he understood that every man had pledged himself to go for it.

Mr. Campbell, after indulging in some further remarks, moved that the House adjourn; which motion was agreed to.

And then the House adjourned till eleven o'clock to-morrow morning.

Wednesday, May 5, 1858.

SENATE.

The Vice President laid before the Senate a letter from Mr. Biggs, of North Carolina, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed by him to the Governor of North Carolina, resigning his seat in the Senate of the United States; which was read.

Military Academy.—Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance, to which was referred House bill making appropriations for the support of the Military Academy for the year ending the 3d of June, 1859, reported back the bill with an amendment.

This bill was subsequently considered in Committee of the Whole, and the amendment having been agreed to, the bill was passed.

Paraguay.—Mr. Bayard moved to reconsider the vote agreeing to the amendment of Mr. Collamer to the joint resolution for the adjustment of difficulties with the Republic of Paraguay, which was to strike out the words "and use such force."

The motion of Mr. Bayard having been agreed to, the vote was again taken on the amendment, and on this occasion it was disagreed to.

Widow of Commander Herndon.—Mr. Hale asked the Senate to postpone the prior order, for the purpose of taking up the joint resolution for the benefit of the widow of Commander William Lewis Herndon, United States navy. If anything was to be done with the resolution, it ought to be done at once, and if it was to be defeated, it was likewise important that it should be known.

The motion of Mr. Hale having been agreed to, the resolution was taken up; when

Mr. Iverson would content himself by observing that Congress had no more right to make a gratuity of this kind, than it would have to throw the money at the bottom of the river which flowed near them.

Mr. Slidell said there was no precedent for any such proceeding; if there had been, he would have cheerfully given this measure his support.

Mr. Mallory denied that the case was without precedent, and insisted that it had been the settled policy of the Government since the year 1817, and cited numerous cases where the relatives of officers and of crews of ships had received gratuities from Government, where the vessels had been lost at sea.

Mr. Benjamin admitted that in ordinary cases he would not be disposed to go beyond one year's pay, but this case, he held, was an exception to all others, and paid a high compliment to the gallantry of Herndon, which was not like falling in the excitement of battle; that officer had sacrificed his life for the safety of the women and children entrusted to his care; and when he sent them from his ship, and placed them on board the vessel near him, he did so with the full knowledge that he was sacrificing his own life to their safety.

The resolution was decided in the affirmative, by the following vote:

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Bayard, Bell, Benjamin, Bigler, Broderick, Brown, Collamer, Dixon, Doolittle, Douglas, Durkee, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Gwin, Hale, Hamlin, Harlan, Houston, Jones, Mallory, Mason, Polk, Pugh, Seward, Simmons, Stuart, Wade, and Wilson—32.

Nays—Messrs. Clay, Green, Hunter, Iverson, Johnson of Tennessee, King, Slidell, and Toombs—8.

Fishing Bounty.—The bill for the repeal of the fishing bounty having been taken up—

Mr Hamlin commenced an argument against the measure, but, being quite indisposed, the further consideration of the subject was postponed until to-morrow.

Admission of Oregon.—On motion of Mr. Douglas, the bill for the admission of Oregon into the Union was then taken up, and debated until the adjournment of the Senate. The bill was opposed by Messrs. Mason, Trumbull, and Iverson, on the ground of insufficiency of population, and by Messrs. Fessenden, Wade, Wilson, and Hale, because the Constitution of Oregon excludes free blacks from ingress into that State, and denies them the privilege of suit before the State courts. The admission of the State was advocated by Messrs. Douglas, Benjamin, and Green. Mr. Brown, in a few pleasant remarks, intimated that, not having any inordinate partiality for the increase of free States against the will of Northern Senators, he should most probably vote against the admission of Oregon, as it could hardly be expected of him to be more eager on this head than the boasted champions of "Freedom."

The further consideration of the subject was then postponed, and the Senate adjourned at half past four o'clock.

HOUSE.

Several reports were received from committees, and amongst them the French spoliation bill, which was postponed until January next, by a vote of 66 to 60.

Resolutions in relation to the capture of Wm. Walker and his men in Nicaragua were introduced, and several substitutes proposed, but no vote was had on the subject.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, delivered an argument in support of the resolution in favor of the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty reported on the preceding day, and took occasion to present his views upon our foreign relations generally.

The Minnesota bill was further argued by Messrs. Davis of Maryland, Reagan of Texas, and Anderson of Missouri. The bill was then postponed until after the morning hour to-day, when Mr. Stephens of Georgia will close the debate and call for the previous question.

The Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill was considered in Committee of the Whole, perfected by amendments, and reported to the House. The previous question was ordered on the passage of the bill; pending which, shortly after five o'clock, the House adjourned.

Thursday, May 6, 1858.

SENATE.

Enlargement of the Capitol Grounds.—Mr. Bright, from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, reported a bill to enlarge the public grounds surrounding the Capitol.

[The bill provides for the enlargement of the Capitol ground by extending it to the two Second streets east and west, and to the two C streets north and south, and for the condemnation of all the squares and parts of squares necessary for such enlargement within the space bounded by the streets named.]

Agricultural Colleges.—Mr. Stuart, from the Committee on Public Lands, to which was referred the bill from the House of Representatives donating public lands to the several States and Territories which may provide colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts, reported that the committee had carefully considered the subject, and had come to the conclusion to report back the bill without any recommendation for or against its passage, but to let it take its place on the private calendar, subject to the judgment of the Senate.

Resolution agreed to.—On motion by Mr. Iverson,

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Navy be requested to inform the Senate what measures have been taken by the Department to execute the act of 28th January, 1857, "authorizing the establishment of a naval depot on Blythe Island, Brunswick, Georgia;" what steps, if any, the Department proposes to adopt in the prosecution of said work, and at what time it is intended to commence and go on with the same, and the reasons why the commencement of the necessary works has not been made.

Mr. Toombs and the Judiciary Committee—Mr. Toombs renewed the motion he submitted yesterday, to be excused from further service on the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Toombs was excused.

Repeal of Fishing Bounties.—The Senate then proceeded to consider the bill repealing all laws or parts of laws allowing bounties to vessels employed in the bank and cod fisheries; when

Mr. Hamlin addressed the Senate at great length, going into a review of the historical, political, and economical relations of the fisheries, and was listened to with much attention through the whole time he was speaking. When he had concluded,

Mr. Mason moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Executive business; which motion was agreed to.

HOUSE.

The General Appropriation Bill.—The business first in order was the bill making appropriations for the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial expenses of Government for the year ending June 30, 1859, which was yesterday reported from the Committee of the Whole with various amendments.

The question recurred on the following amendment, adopted in Committee of the Whole on motion of Mr. Sherman, of Ohio:

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That no part of the amount appropriated by any act of Congress for the service of any one fiscal year shall be used for or applied to the service of any other year, nor be transferred to or used for any other branch of expenditure than that for which it may be specifically appropriated: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall apply to the appropriations for the present or next fiscal years.

Mr. J. G. Jones hoped the amendment would be voted down.

The yeas and nays having been ordered thereon, the amendment was agreed to—yeas 108, nays 50.

The other amendments pending were agreed to without a division, and the bill was passed.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—The next business in order was the consideration of the joint resolution in favor of the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

Mr. Ritchie, of Pennsylvania, spoke in reply to the argument of Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, and in opposition to the resolution. He contended that there was no emergency calling for the interference of the House with the treaty-making power, and that the position of the United States in Central America was stronger under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty than it was under the circumstances existing previous to the adoption of the treaty. He hoped, therefore, the resolution would be voted down, first, because the House had no business with it, and, second, upon the merits of the proposition.

The pending motion to recommit the resolution was lost—yeas 27, nays not counted.

Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, called for the yeas and nays upon the third reading of the resolution; which were ordered, and resulted—yeas 97, nays 86.

So the resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time.

Mr. Clingman called for the previous question on the passage of the resolution.

The Speaker decided that the preamble must first be voted upon.

Mr. Clingman demanded the previous question on the preamble.

Mr. Sickles moved that the House proceed to business on the Speaker's table.

And the yeas and nays having been ordered thereon, the motion prevailed—yeas 93, nays 88.

Another Contumacious Witness.—Mr. Haskin, of New York, rose to a privileged question, and reported, from the select committee in relation to the purchase and sale of property at Wilkins's Point, New York, the following resolution; which, after a brief explanation, was adopted:

Resolved, That the Speaker issue his warrant, directed to the Sergeant-at-arms, commanding him to take into custody the body of Robert W. Latham, wherever to be found, and have the same forthwith before the bar of this House, to answer for a contempt of the authority of the House.

The Minnesota Bill.—The House then proceeded to consider the bill for the admission of the State of Minnesota into the Union.

Mr. Smith, of Virginia, said they ought not lightly to add to the number of States in the Union, and ought at least to see that new States came in regularly. It was clear that a State could only be composed of citizens of the United States. The United States Constitution was formed for no other than citizens of the Union. The distinction between citizens and foreigners was clearly marked, and nothing but naturalization could make a citizen of a foreigner. Hence the Constitution of Minnesota was violative of the Constitution of the United States, and they ought not to tolerate the mischievous system of franchise which it would inaugurate.

Mr. Millson, of Virginia, contended that it was not at all competent for Congress to pass upon a State Constitution. He did not approve the extending of the right of suffrage to aliens, but it would be travelling beyond their sphere to undertake to correct the Constitution of Minnesota.

Mr. Phillips, of Pennsylvania, pronounced the argument of the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Smith] an announcement of ultra-Federal doctrines, totally subversive of the right of States to self-government. The Constitution of Kansas, for which the gentleman voted, contained a provision similar to that which he found so obnoxious in the Constitution of Minnesota. The same objection by which he would keep Minnesota out of the Union, would exclude New York and other States where free negroes are permitted to vote.

Mr. Stephens again proposed that there be an understanding as to the time of taking the vote. He desired to take up the bill at twelve o'clock on Saturday, close the debate, and have the question taken at one o'clock.

Mr. Comins, of Massachusetts, objected, as it would interfere with the consideration of the private calendar; but subsequently withdrew the objection.

The Speaker said, as there was no objection, it would be so ordered.

Mr. Bliss, of Ohio, said, if he was a citizen of a Territory, he would be in favor of providing that only citizens of the United States should be voters, but he acknowledged the right of Minnesota to make different provisions. Congress had no right to keep Minnesota out of the Union until she would consent to form an unobjectionable Constitution. They had no right to pass upon the propriety or even the decency of her Constitution, in any manner, so long as it was the expression of the will of the people. If they had irregularities in their Constitution, these irregularities were invited by the terms of the enabling act.

At ten minutes before six o'clock, the House adjourned.

Monday, May 10, 1858.

SENATE.

Repeal of the Fishing Bounties.—The Senate then proceeded to consider the bill repealing all laws or parts of laws allowing bounties to vessels employed in the bank and cod fisheries.

Mr. Fessenden argued against the expediency of the proposition, and replied to so much of Mr. Clay's argument as proceeded on the principle that the fishing bounties were granted only as an equivalent for duties imposed on salt. If this was the origin of the system as founded by the law of 1792, Mr. Fessenden held that by the act of 1813, and especially by that of 1819, it was undeniable that these bounties were granted with reference to the general interests of the navy, since they were granted at a time when the duty on salt was merely nominal. The effect of repealing this bounty could be inferred from the effects of the repeal passed in 1807, in consequence of which the fisheries had annually declined in productiveness and value, until in 1811 the exports of cod were reduced to less than one half their amount before the repeal. The question raised respecting the constitutionality of the bounties he thought did not admit of any serious argument. Certainly it was constitutional to give bounties to fishermen who might one day be wanted in the navy, if it was constitutional to give bounties to soldiers when they enlisted in the army of the United States. Mr. F. then described minutely the life and habits of the New England fishermen, with the view of showing their capacity for effective service in case of war with any naval Power.

Mr. Benjamin avowed his determination to vote for the bill, on the ground that its passage could not materially affect the fishing interests of the country. If he thought that to repeal the bounties would be to destroy the fisheries, he would be willing to continue the fostering care of the Government.

The further consideration of the subject was postponed, and the Senate proceeded, at a quarter before four o'clock, to hold an Executive session.

HOUSE.

A large number of communications were received from the Executive Departments, calling for appropriations for various purposes; and four additional appropriation bills were reported from the Committee of Ways and Means. All the Senate bills on the Speaker's table were disposed of, either by reference to committees, or in cases where there was no opposition by being finally passed. The bill for the compensation of certain parties for slaves carried away from the Chesapeake Bay by the British fleet in 1813 was, after a brief debate, referred to the Committee of the Whole, upon the ruling of the Speaker, that, as an appropriation bill, it must be first considered in Committee. The bill to amend an act limiting the liability of ship-owners was considered, and the previous question ordered on its passage; pending which, shortly after four o'clock, the House adjourned.

Philadelphia Municipal Election.

The election held in Philadelphia on Tuesday, for mayor and other municipal officers, resulted in the success of the Union ticket, nominated by the American, Republican, and People's Conventions. Alexander Henry, the Union candidate for mayor, was elected over Richard Vaux, the Democratic candidate, by a majority ranging from 4,100 to 4,300. The other Union candidates for solicitor, controller, receiver of taxes, and commissioner, are elected by majorities ranging from 2,800 to 3,800. Two-thirds of the Union ticket for common council was elected, but in the select council, the Democrats have one majority—a portion of the old members holding over. The Union party also carried a majority of school directors, ward officers, &c. The election, although warmly contested, passed off generally with good order. There was no fighting of consequence, and no obstruction to voters. The total vote of the city will largely exceed that of 1856, when Mr. Vaux was elected by a majority of 4,089. The *Ledger*, referring to the result, now says:

"Mayor Vaux appears to be very badly beaten, his opponent, Mr. Henry, having received a majority over him of over 4,000 votes. This result was not unexpected. Mayor Vaux had a terrible load to carry in some of his police appointments, and the men that he allowed to have apparently the control of his office. This will be the great stumbling block hereafter to every person elected to the office of Mayor. Mr. Henry will be pressed for appointments by the same class of men. If he has the nerve to resist them, he runs the risk of losing a renomination. If he yields to their importunities, he will have the same influences against him which defeated Mr. Vaux. The proper course would seem to be to disregard the importunities of men not fit to be appointed to office, and to trust to the independent voters of the city to sustain an honest and respectable Government."

As soon as the result was known, the successful party formed a procession, and with a band of music proceeded to the residence of Mr. Henry, the Mayor elect, who was called out, and after thanking them for the honor conferred on him, proceeded to speak of the result as an Anti-Lecompton victory. This view of the result is also taken by the *Press*, Col. Forney's paper. That journal says:

"This significant result will convince the country that Philadelphia, the exponent of Pennsylvania's sentiments on great national questions, is able to make her sentiments authoritatively known."

The Connecticut Legislature—Inaugural Address of Gov. Buckingham.

The new Republican State Government of Connecticut was organized at New Haven on Wednesday. A great military parade, embracing about a dozen companies from different parts of the State, celebrated the inauguration. In the Senate, Elisha Carpenter, of Killingly, was chosen President *pro tem.*, to officiate when the Lieutenant Governor does not occupy the place; Isaac H. Bromley, of New Haven, the Clerk of the last House, was chosen Clerk; and James A. Moore, of East Hartford, messenger. In the House, Alfred A. Burnham, of Windham, the Lieutenant Governor last year, was elected Speaker, (being nominated in the Republican caucus by 72 votes to 50 for Augustus Brandagee, of New London;) Abner L. Train, of Milford, Clerk; William S. Goslee, of Glastenbury, Assistant Clerk; F. J. E. Thompson, Doorkeeper. All these are Republicans, of course. The Democrats voted for R. D. Hubbard, of Hartford, for Speaker of the House, and James E. English, of New Haven, for President of the Senate. The new Governor, Mr. Buckingham, has made the following personal and military appointments: Aides—Col. H. H. Osgood, of Norwich, and Peter L. Cunningham, of Norwalk; executive secretary—Nathaniel Shipman, of Hartford; adjutant general—Joseph D. Williams, of Hartford; quartermaster general—J. M. Hathaway, of Suffield; paymaster general—Wm. O. Irish, of New London.

Governor Buckingham was sworn into office, and gave his message in the afternoon. It is a brief, practical, business man's review of the affairs of the State, with some general discussion of the financial and Slavery questions. The expenses of the State for the last year were $271,470, or about one-quarter those of Massachusetts, even under the reduced appropriations of this year's administration. The debt of the State has increased from $38,000 to $82,000 during the year. The school fund is unimpaired to the amount of two millions, with a cash surplus of $22,318. The income of the fund the last year has been nearly seven per cent., and $142,080 has been distributed among the schools, being an average of $1.40 to each of the 101,486 children in the State. There has also been received into the treasury for school purposes, from the one cent tax on the grand list of the towns, $71,440.66, and from the towns deposit fund $35,000. These sums are estimated to be but a little more than one-half the amount which has been voluntarily paid upon the rate bill and property tax.

We recently printed the official letter of Gen. Cass, affirming that a black man, being no citizen of the United States, must be denied by the State Department the passport, without which he cannot travel on the continent of Europe. By the following official manifestoes, it will be seen that a negro, on the same ground, is denied the privilege of pre-empting a quarter section of the public lands, and that of commanding an American vessel, even though his own. Happily, the privilege of drawing his own breath is not yet officially denied him.

GENERAL LAND OFFICE, *April* 23, 1858.

Hon. Owen Lovejoy, House of Representatives:

SIR: I have received your letter of the 20th instant, desiring to ascertain, in behalf of a friend, whether people of color are allowed to pre-empt public land, and have the honor to reply that the ruling of this office is, that not being citizens of the United States, as decided, they are not entitled to the right of pre-emption, that privilege being restricted by positive law to citizens of the United States, or such as have filed their declarations of intention to become citizens, as required by the naturalization laws.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, *Commissioner.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, *April* 22, 1858.

Hon. Owen Lovejoy, House of Representatives:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, addressed to the Secretary of State, and by that officer submitted for the consideration of this Department; and in reply to the question propounded, to state that a free negro, not being a citizen of the United States, cannot receive a register for a vessel owned by him, nor can he command a vessel sailing under United States marine papers.

By reference to the registry act, approved December 31, 1792, and the coasting act, approved February 18, 1793, you will perceive that to entitle a vessel to United States marine papers, she must be wholly owned by a citizen or citizens of the United States, and that the master of such vessel must be a citizen of the United States.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
HOWELL COBB,
Secretary of the Treasury.

Samuel Dickson, member of the last Congress from the Albany district, New York, died at Albany, Monday evening. His death was the result of spinal injuries, received by missing his chair and falling when about to sit down, while at Washington.

Henry Giles, the lecturer and essayist, has become a citizen of Chicago.

LATER FROM EUROPE.

New York, May 11.—The Persia has arrived, with dates from Liverpool to the 1st instant.

The Liverpool cotton market was firm and unchanged.

Provisions steady.

Consols for money were quoted 97½, and for account 97 3-6.

Bullion in the Bank of England had increased £90,000.

American securities unchanged.

Breadstuffs were quiet. Flour lower; Western Canal 21*s.* @ 21*s.* 6*d.* Wheat had an advancing tendency; red 6*s.* 1*d.* Corn steady.

Pork firm, and is dearer.

London Market.—Breadstuffs quiet. Sugar firm and is dearer, the advance being chiefly on the finer qualities.

India news is one week later. The main feature of the news is the capture of Jhansi by the British force under Sir H. Rose, with a great slaughter of the rebels. Gen. Roberts has also assaulted and occupied the town of Kotah.

The debate on D'Israeli's India resolution commenced in Parliament on the 30th. The first section, declaring it expedient to vest the Government of India in the British Crown, was carried, with cheers. The debate is adjourned.

The operations of the Atlantic cable are going on briskly. More than 2,000 miles are now coiled on board the two ships. The "paying-out" machinery of the cable is completed, and pronounced perfect.

Paris rumors hint at changes in the Administration and probably retirement of Espinasse from the Department of the Interior.

The plenipotentiaries have held a conference to ratify the boundary between Russia and Turkey; also, to consider Professor Morse's claims on Europe for indemnification for invention of the telegraph. Nothing is resolved on, but the prospects are favorable for Morse.

Latest by Telegraph.

London, Saturday.—An unfavorable reaction took place in the funds yesterday, owing exclusively to political considerations, and consols closed ⅛ @ ¼ lower than on Thursday. The increased demand for money created a further dullness.

The unsettled position of the Government and the possibility of a dissolution of Derby Ministry in case of the India bill also acted unfavorably. The *Daily News*, however, says there is not the slightest doubt that, if beaten on any important question, Lord Derby will dissolve the Parliament.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

The Washington correspondent of the *South* predicts that Mr. Buchanan will be his own successor in the Presidential chair. He says:

"The probability of this event is spoken of here in high quarters of information. It is true, that Mr. Buchanan mentioned, at the time of his inauguration, that he would not be a candidate for re-election to the high office which he now fills; but in the alarming and dangerous state of the Republic, which threatens to culminate in the next Presidential crisis, it is believed that Mr. Buchanan might yield to exalted motives of patriotism, and to the united appeals of the constitutional Democracy in all parts of the country, in rescuing the Government from a vital danger, and in accepting again at the hands of the Democratic and patriotic party the high trust of the Executive of the nation. This is no idle conjecture; the assertion is founded on the views of distinguished members of Congress, and it is sustained by natural probabilities. Mr. Buchanan may be said to be the only Democratic leader and statesman who could secure in the contest a preponderance of Northern Democratic votes; and is *the only candidate whom the South can hope to elect to the office of President.*"

A correspondent of the New York *Spiritual Telegraph* tells for truth that Dr. Hare of Philadelphia is now having manifestations in his laboratory, "which will force conviction upon the minds of those who are determined not to believe," and as a specimen, states that a common manifestation is the transmutation of copper pennies into gold. This is a satisfactory manifestation, surely. And if the spirits will but make this new test general, and turn every man's copper into gold, spiritualism will have no lack of proselytes. There are no theological scruples that will not melt away before evidence like this.

Mr. Richard Yeadon, of Charleston, South Carolina, has published an apology for Edward Everett's sympathy and approval of Charles Sumner after the murderous assault upon him. As the apology is put forth as having been made by Mr. Everett himself, it is of some consequence. The statement is, that Mr. Everett signed the testimonial to Mr. Sumner, "when he was sick in bed, and under the confusing influence of an anodyne," and he signed it without reading it. Afterwards he wrote to Mr. Sumner, taking it all back. This is the statement that Yeadon says is made by Mr. Everett at the South.—*Springfield Republican.*

The New York *Times* says the Republicans ought to pay for the powder the Democrats are burning over the passage of the English bill, since they are the only people or party really benefited by the act. That's so. If the Republicans had selfishly, and in a mere party spirit, marked out a course for the Administration on the Kansas question, they could not have invented one better for themselves than that which has been followed by Mr. Buchanan and his partisans in Congress.

The Louisville *Journal* says: "The course of Senator Green, of Missouri, is unquestionably disapproved by a large majority of the people of that State. He will disappear from the public service as soon as his constituents can get him out. Thenceforth he will be '*Invisible Green.*'"

Tuckerman, the railroad defaulter and then mail robber, was on Tuesday sentenced to a total of 21 years imprisonment on the four counts against him, by Judge Ingersoll of the United States Circuit Court, at New Haven. During the address of the Judge he shook convulsively, as if he were being condemned to death. He will not be removed to Wethersfield for several days yet, leave being granted him to settle up his outside affairs first. His wife left for Boston, immediately after the sentence, to attend to some matters there for her doomed husband, with which she alone is conversant. She bears her terrible trial with heroic courage.

Edward Dessling, arrested at Paducah, Ky., under the extradition treaty with Prussia, has been discharged by Judge Williams, who decided that the Prussian depositions were not competent testimony. The populace were much excited, and cheered when the decision was pronounced. The New York lawyer, Lepan, and the Prussian police officer, were then arrested for false imprisonment. Dessling has brought suit against each of them for $20,000.

The Provisional Government of Venezuela goes on quietly, and is carrying out its reforms with vigor. Gen. Castron, Provisional President, has invited leading exiles to return home, and appointed a special commission to wait upon Gen. Paez in New York, and accompany him on his return.

A genius in New York, named Hatfield, known as "the chief mourner," who has been in the habit of attending funerals, mingling, with watery eyes and a white pocket-handkerchief, among the mourners, and picking their pockets as they stood about the coffin, has been arrested by the police.

A slave woman and her three children passed through Cincinnati, one day last week, on the underground railroad. It is said the owners of the slaves have discovered that a lady furnished them with their tickets, and are now searching for her, with the intention of proceeding against her under the fugitive slave act.

The Government prosecutions against Leighton and Compton, for resisting United States officers, in the famous Clark county rescue cases, have been abandoned. The Pro Slavery papers made a great hue and cry about these affairs, but there seems to have been no basis for it. The real outrage was committed by the United States marshal and his aids.

Col. Schouler, late of the Columbus, Ohio, *Journal*, but soon to assume the editorship of the Boston *Bee*, passed through town to Boston last night with his family. Under his charge, the *Bee* will probably become a morning paper, and, we trust, assume the name of the *Atlas*.

Gen. Concha has sent to Madrid his resignation of the Governorship of Cuba, having been informed that he would otherwise be removed.

There seems to have been no foundation for the statement that some of the Russian nobles were opposing the emancipation of the serfs, and that their opposition had led to violence and disorder. The measures proposed by the Government are so reasonable and prudent, and the change in the relations of the serfs to their masters is made so carefully and gradually, and with so many safeguards against disastrous consequences, that there is really no ground of objection with any who believe that servitude is an evil. An imperial decree is published by the Emperor Alexander, establishing in the districts of Kiew, Podolia, and Volbynia, preparatory committees to take the direction of the emancipation in those districts. The nobility, the landed proprietors, and the Emperor, are represented on the committees, and the general principles upon which emancipation is to take place are prescribed to them by the Government, as follows:

1. The proprietor retains his right of property over the whole soil, but the peasant retains the enclosure of his habitation, of which he becomes owner by redemption within a given time; moreover, he has the use of the quantity of land necessary, according to local condition, to assure his existence, and to provide him with the means of fulfilling his obligations towards the state and his landlord. For the use of this land the peasant must either pay a rent or work for the landlord. 2. The peasants are to be classed into rural districts; the dominal police is under the proprietor. 3. The relations which are to be established between the proprietors and the peasants must be such as to guaranty the regular payment of the taxes to the state.

The London *Morning Star* says that the French Government are hesitating as to their course with regard to the occupation of the Island of Perim by the English. The question is, whether it is better to frighten England, or to frighten Turkey, and on this the deliberations of the French statesmen may turn. The matter cannot rest where it now is; and if France does not move, the other Powers will.

The London *Times* thus caricatures our Congress:

"In Congress, on the other side of the great sea, our transatlantic cousins manage these matters expeditiously. When a proposition is brought before the House of Representatives at Washington, any honorable gentleman to whom it may be obnoxious may defeat it—1st, by knocking down the proposer on the floor of the House; 2d, by slipping across the House with a friend, and caning or cowhiding both the proposer and seconder; 3d, by a rush of all the nays at all the yeas, and by a general 'scrimmage;' 4th, by speaking against time, to avoid an immediate decision, and, during adjournment, by pistoling or knifing at the bar of an hotel the proposer and all members who may seem disposed to lend him serious support. It is quite clear that, by this mixture of force and reason, quicker results are obtained than by our own more wearisome forms."

The following announcement appeared in the London *Gazette* of April 2d:

"The Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint Sir John Fiennes Crampton, K. C. B., now Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Hanover, to be Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of all the Russias."

Crampton's appointment has caused a remonstrance from the English press, and his advancement is attributed to personal intrigue.

The Tyng family are of Massachusetts origin, having descended from Gov. Dudley. Dudley Atkins Tyng, father of Rev. Dr. Tyng of New York, was a lawyer at Newburyport. His family name was Atkins, to which the name of Tyng, his mother's maiden name, was added by an act of the Legislature.

It is confidently predicted by American residents in Spain that a respectable republican Government will be organized in that country within a year. The Democratic forces are well organized, understand each other, and have agreed upon a declaration of principles on which they will establish the new Government. These are entirely republican, and include the equality of the citizens, universal suffrage, freedom of the press and of speech, and religious freedom, with the severance of the connection of church and State. Whether the people of Spain are prepared to organize and sustain such a Government may be doubted, but there seems to be a strong conviction that the attempt will soon be made, and that it will be a formidable one.

The reinforcements going out to Utah, under Gen. Smith, consist of three light batteries of artillery, commanded by Captains Barry, Hunt, and Reynolds; twelve companies of cavalry, commanded by Col. E. V. Sumner; ten companies of foot artillery, commanded by Brevet Colonel John Munroe; eight companies of sixth infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George Andrews; ten companies of seventh infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Pitcairn Morrison; a detachment of sappers and miners; a detachment of ordnance men—an aggregate of 252 officers, and 5,445 men.

The execution of William Muller, for the murder of George Matthews, took place at noon on Friday, in Wilkesbarre, Penn. The murder was committed on the first of December last, on the Easton turnpike, seven miles from Wilkesbarre, and the body was subsequently thrown in a well. Muller confessed that he committed the murder.

At a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, Dr. H. Rink, of Copenhagen, read a paper controverting the theories of the late Dr. Kane, in relation to an open polar sea, and denying the accuracy of several of his observations.

A letter from Aspinwall states that Col. Kinney has gone to Greytown, with men, stores, and ammunition, intending to revolutionize the self-constituted English Government at that place, and make himself Governor. The Colonel has been quiet a very long time, and must have a great quantity of latent uneasiness to let off.

Hume, the American medium, it is reported, is soon to be married at Rome to a young Russian lady of immense fortune. He is said to have gained his power over her by magnetic influence.

The unfinished monument to Mary, the mother of Washington, at Fredericksburg, Va., is fast going to ruin, and is badly disfigured with bullet and shot marks, being used by the boys as a target.

The New York *Tribune* publishes a Madrid letter, containing a manifesto of the Spanish Republicans, which embodies their preparations for a revolution, which is proclaimed to be at hand.

The Sanatory Convention, in session at Baltimore last week, adjourned on Saturday. The next Convention meets at New York, on the last Wednesday of April, 1859.

Professor Felton, of Harvard College, sails for Europe to-day, and goes directly to Athens, to stay as long as the season will permit, when he visits England, and returns home in the fall. Rev. John Weiss, of New Bedford, sails for Europe on the 20th.

The entertainment given by the Mayor of Baltimore to the savans was costly and magnificent. A thousand dollars worth of wine was consumed; there was a great display of rich and costly flowers, and strawberries and cream were inexhaustible. Science is a dry subject, and its votaries sop up a good deal of drink.

Col. James Collier, of Steubenville, Ohio, against whom the Government has maintained a suit as a defaulter, while Collector at San Francisco, has beaten the Government before the Supreme Court, on an appeal. Instead of being a defaulter, the court decides that there is due to him from the Government $8,110.

Mr. Sumner has not recovered from his recent relapse, and is quite feeble. His physician recommends an absolute cessation of work, and perfect quiet.

A book-keeper of Wright & Bridgeford, Louisville, Ky., is alleged to have committed very heavy forgeries, and has left for parts unknown.

Mr. Rarey, the American horse tamer, is to have charge of the stud of Arabian horses belonging to Queen Victoria.

A traitor is good fruit to hang from the boughs of the tree of liberty.

It is stated by a correspondent of one of our subscribers that, at the height of the "Revival" in New York, a "changed man" of that "institution" applied to a poetic mind to write an appropriate hymn, to be sung at the Board of Brokers.

The whole hymn is not given, but the following is a sample of its penitential tone and desire of reformation:

That sink of sin, the Brokers' Board,
Visit in mercy, gracious Lord;
Break thou their horns, and draw their claws,
That they may turn and fear thy laws.

To the uninitiated it may be proper to mention that among the stock brokers the terms bulls and bears are used, to indicate those who swear that stocks will go up and those who swear them down—the former working with their *horns* and the latter with their *claws*.—*Charleston Courier.*

The greatest remedy of the day is unquestionably *Perry Davis's Vegetable Pain Killer*, for the instant relief of all pains, scalds, bruises, &c., and for pains in the stomach and bowels; it is used with encouraging success in sudden attacks of cholera and cholera morbus. Sold by druggists. 11

DEATHS.

In Camillus, Onondaga county, New York, on the 1st instant, Mrs. AMANDA L., wife of Martin Lyon, in the 63d year of her age. For nearly forty years she was a faithful, consistent, and acceptable member of the Methodist Episcopal church.

GARDNER S., eldest son of Eli B. and Elvira Haskell, departed this life on the 3d instant, in the 22d year of his age, at his father's house in Perry, Lake county, Ohio. At the age of eleven years he became a hopeful convert to Christ, and was a consistent and beloved member of the Baptist church in Perry, till released by death to join the church of the first-born in heaven.

At Prairie City, Illinois, on the 17th ultimo, LEWIS F., infant son of Amos and Emily A. Sanford.

PREPARE FOR THE FALL ELECTIONS.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION have completed arrangements for publishing and distributing Tracts, Essays, and Speeches, bearing upon the important question now agitating the country.

Most of the Speeches delivered in Congress during the present session by Republican members, and also those that may hereafter be delivered, can be had, enveloped and *free of postage*, at 75 cents per 100 for eight-page, and $1.25 per 100 for sixteen-page Speeches.

Our Republican friends ought to take immediate steps to flood every Congressional district, and especially districts now represented by Administration Democrats, with these Speeches and Documents. Heretofore this work has been done by the Members of Congress at their own expense, but after the adjournment of Congress this responsibility will devolve upon other friends of the cause.

THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION at Washington City stand ready to lend all the assistance in their power.

Send in your orders without delay. Address
L. CLEPHANE,
Secretary National Republican Association, Washington, D. C.
May, 8, 1858.

ANTIDOTE FOR POISON.

The Pain Killer.—Rev. T. Allen, writing from Tavoy, Burmah, Jan. 5, 1857, says: "Within the past four years, I have used and disposed of above five hundred bottles, but am now out. Please send me a fresh supply (through the Mission Rooms) as soon as you can, say two hundred bottles. I dare not be without it myself, and there are endless calls for it, both by Burmans and Karens. I always take it with me into the jungles, and have frequent occasions to use it, both on myself and others. One night, while sleeping in an open Zayate, I was awoke by a most excruciating pain in my foot. On my examination, I found I had been bitten by a centipede. I immediately applied the Pain Killer, and found instant relief. In less than one hour I was again asleep."

Rev. Mr. Hibbard, writing from Burmah to his father, says: "I have used Perry Davis's Pain Killer for coughs, colds, summer complaints, burns, and for the sting of scorpions, with uniform success. We always keep it where we can put our hand on it in the dark, if need be."

For sale in Washington by William Ballantyne, bookseller, Seventh street. 5

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JUST PUBLISHED.

E. C. & J. BIDDLE, Philadelphia, have just published A Compendium of American Literature, chronologically arranged, with Biographical Sketches of the Authors. On the plan of the author's "Compendium of English Literature" and "English Literature of the Nineteenth Century." By Prof C. D. Cleveland.

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The NEW YORK LEDGER also contains contributions from the pens of the following distinguished writers:

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The LEDGER is for sale every week at all the periodical stores throughout the United States.

The subscription price is $2 per annum, when sent by mail, but no subscriptions are wanted from towns where there are news offices established.

ROBERT BONNER, Proprietor,
593 44 Ann street, New York.

[CONTINUED FROM THE FIRST PAGE.]

who think that this unhappy question—for such it is—of Negro Slavery, which the Constitution has vainly attempted to blink by not using the term, should never be brought into public notice, more especially into that of Congress, and most especially here. Sir, with every due respect for the gentlemen who think so, I differ with them *toto cœlo*. Sir, it is a thing which cannot be hid. It is not a dry rot that you can cover with a carpet until the house tumbles about your ears. You might as well try to hide a volcano in full operation. It cannot be hid; it is a cancer on your face, and must not be tampered with by quacks, who never saw the disease or the patient, and prescribe across the Atlantic. It must be, if you will, let alone.

"But no, sir; the politico-religious quacks, like the quack in medicine and everything else, will hear of nothing but his nostrum; all is to be forced—nothing can be trusted to time or to nature. The disease has run its course; it has run its course in the Northern States, it is beginning to run its course in Maryland. The natural death of Slavery is the unprofitableness of its most expensive labor. It is also beginning in the meadow and grain country of Virginia—among those people who have no staple that can pay for slave labor."

He then points his conclusion in a way to make it stick in the memories of the masters of slaves, to whom he addressed himself:

"The moment the labor of the slave ceases to be profitable to the master, or very soon after it has reached that stage, *if the slave will not run away from the master, the master will run away from the slave.*"

Mr. Chairman, I am Mr. Randolph's proselyte; he was no Abolitionist, although aware that Slavery was sapping the very foundations of the free institutions of his country—a cancer on the face, which, unless removed, would eat into the vitals of the Republic. I concur in his opinion, that the master must run away from his slaves, unless they run away from him. Unhappily for the slave States, many of their enterprising young men leave their native land for those States where individual ability and exertion are sufficient to confer wealth and eminence; and all of that oppressed class who are compelled to labor with their naked hands, and struggle for existence in competition with the monopolizing slave power that holds the soil, and bands together, by a common interest, the capital, the intelligence, and influence of the order controlling the Government of the Commonwealth to make it paramount, would also fly, if they had the means of flight, or a spot on earth they could call their own to receive them. Although the time has not yet come when the masters are ready to run away from their slaves, it will doubtless come, if ever that great mass of freemen, who feel the weight of the institution pressing them to the earth, should have the means of reaching homesteads in happier regions, where their labor might render them independent. Can any condition be more lamentable for a State, than that which makes it the obvious interest of the mass of its free population to abandon it? And if poverty prevents this desertion, the cause of detention, constantly increasing, must in the end grow into a frightful calamity.

Every statesman who has looked into the condition of the slave States, has always found it full of difficulties. Mr. Randolph's solution does not end them, unless we go a step further. Where would the slaves go, if they could run away? The North may receive an absconding straggler here and there, but what States would receive five millions of slaves? or how would the runaways be anywhere provided for? The free States which have put an interdict, so far away as remote Oregon, upon the admission of free blacks, even in the stinted number which might come from the limited emancipation permitted in the South, would hardly receive millions upon a general jail delivery. Nor can the masters run away from their slaves, unless the South is ready to become a San Domingo; nor emancipate them *en masse* without making it a San Domingo.

Mr. Randolph had a grave meaning in the alternatives he suggested for the riddance of Slavery, although its strong sense, as usual with him, is pointed with sarcasm. His will shows how the slaves were to run away from their masters. That testament delivers a practical lesson to his State, more pregnant with sage advice than any ever received from his eloquent lips, on which she hung with such rapture.

The first and second bequests read thus:

"1. I give and bequeath to my slaves their freedom, heartily regretting that I have ever been the owner of one.

"2. I give to my executors a sum not exceeding eight thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to transport and settle said slaves to and in some other State or Territory of the United States, giving to all above the age of forty not less than ten acres of land each."

No man ever more thoroughly understood the interest, or more filially studied the heart of Virginia, than John Randolph. The words I have read will one day be embodied in a statute of the State.

Washington had led the way in this mode of deliverance, manumitting all his slaves by will; and this was in pursuance of what long before he said the interests of Maryland and Virginia demanded. In his letter to Sir John Sinclair, in reference to these States, he said: "Gradual abolition," "nothing is more certain, they must have, and at a period not remote." It seems, however, from an earlier letter to Lafayette, that he contemplated, with peculiar pleasure, the idea of their enfranchisement. He says to the Marquis:

"Your late purchase of an estate in Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country."

He did not expect this at once, for he adds:

"To set the slaves afloat at once, would, I really believe, be productive of much inconvenience and mischief; but by degrees it might, and assuredly ought, to be effected, and that by legislation."

The legislation resulted differently, as is shown in the closing passage of Mr. Jefferson's will, in relation to the slaves which his encumbered estate enabled him to dispose of. It is in these words:

"I give them their freedom, and earnestly request of the Legislature of Virginia a confirmation of the bequests of freedom to these servants, with permission to remain in this State, where their families and connections are, as an additional instance of the favor of which I have received so many manifestations in my life, and for which I now give them my last solemn and dutiful thanks."

The "gradual abolition" contemplated by Washington had, before Mr. Jefferson's death, made so large a class of free negroes as to endanger the safety of the white race, by inciting formidable insurrections among the slaves, besides producing the lesser inconveniences apprehended. Hence the law prohibiting manumission without the removal of the emancipated slaves from the State. Mr. Randolph's love for his own State was so great, that he set an example of an exodus by sending his tribe of free blacks beyond the confines of Virginia, at the cost of much mischief to another State. By the legislation of many free States, the intrusion of such emigration was soon prevented; and it may now be asserted with truth, that the laws of the free and the slave States combine to perpetuate Slavery! for where is the freed man to go? A few rich masters provide the means to return their bondsmen to Africa; and recently some small parties embarked to Mexico, to throw themselves upon the humanity of its semi-barbarous people. There is no alternative but to submit to expulsion, or to refuse the boon of freedom. There existed at least a half million manumitted slaves before the proscriptive laws were passed at the North or South. In the latter section, where the intercourse of the enfranchised and enslaved of the same race is pregnant with danger, measures are in progress to reduce all to the condition of Slavery. Laws have been passed in some of the slave States, providing that the freed may subject themselves again to servitude, if they can find a master. During the summer and fall, another step was taken in the direction by large meetings in Virginia, praying the Legislature to authorize a sweeping sale of all free blacks by auction—to reduce the entire race within the State, however slightly tinctured with negro blood, to bondage.

Mr. Chairman, there is nothing in the comparative progress of the slave and free States, since the illustrious patriots of Virginia, in the last and most solemn act of their lives, bore their testimony against the institution which now convulses the Confederacy, tending to condemn their policy. There is much in the aspect now given to our affairs by that fatal element, against which their forecast gave warning, to prove that their solicitude to remove it had its root in that sound judgment and devoted love to the country, which made the strongest features of their characters. One great difficulty obstructed these efforts. Emancipation was easy, but the amalgamation of the white and black races was abhorrent, and their existence as equals, under the same Government, was for that reason impossible. They were, nevertheless, resolved to make the experiment of the gradual abolition of Slavery, hoping that time would make some outlet to the degraded caste. I believe the existing circumstances on this continent now justify that hope. The attempt of African colonization to relieve us of the load has failed. The immense distance, and the barbarous state of the mother country to which we would restore its improved race that has arisen among us, has paralyzed all the efforts of the benevolent society that has labored so long in vain to form a community in Liberia, which would draw hence its kindred emancipated population, and establish a nation there to spread civilization and religion over Africa. Time has shown that the causes which have produced races, never to improve Africa, or to be improved there, but to abandon it, and give their vigor and derive their advancement in other climes, are not to be reversed by the best efforts of the best men. "Westward the star of empire takes its way," is a prophecy which will find its accomplishment within the tropics as well as outside of them on this continent. Liberty and security promote enterprise and industry, and so create that intelligence which brings in its train civilization and Christianity. Africa is a desert, in which every effort to propagate the elements which lead to such results have proved failures; and for ages, Africa has ever been the "house of bondage."

As Americans, it is our first interest to take care of this continent, and provide for the races on whose faculties and labors its advancement depends. In my opinion, the door is now open in Central America to receive the enfranchised colored race born amongst us, and which has received, with our language and the habits contracted under our institutions, much that adapts it to sustain a part in giving stability to the institutions copied from ours in the Central American Republics.

Mr. Wells, an American gentleman of high talents and attainments, with a view to promote commercial enterprises originating with a merchant of New York, recently traversed Central America under most favorable auspices, in order to explore its resources, and obtain certain mining and commercial privileges from the Government of Honduras. His volume, published at the close of the year 1856, and which gives the condition of the country down to the end of Walker's first invasion, is full of information as to the capabilities of the country, and the posture of the parties that distract it. It shows on what the Liberals, who emancipated the country from Spain, rely for the preservation of its freedom. He was intimate with Cabanas, the late enlightened and most liberal President of Honduras, whose policy he indicates in the brief passages I now read from his book:

"Although, as a Spanish American, Cabanas was personally opposed, at the commencement of his administration, to the encouragement of enterprises through which strangers would be likely to obtain a dangerous ascendency in Central America, he was gradually induced, by the influence of Senors Cacho and Mejia, his Ministers, to dismiss these objections. In the midst of his harassing campaign in Gracias, in the month of July, he found time to turn his attention toward the interoceanic railway project; and to Cabanas should be ascribed the double honor of conquering his inborn prejudices against foreigners, and of giving the principal impulse to an enterprise likely to assume an importance second to none in the present age.

"Actuated by the same laudable intentions, and penetrated with the conviction that only through Northern industry and enterprise can the Spanish-American races be raised to a permanent grade of prosperity, Senor Barrundia, then far advanced in years, and frequently referred to in this sketch as a talented and zealous member of the Liberal party, was dispatched to Washington as the first diplomatic agent ever sent to the United States by Honduras, as a distinct Power. His death at New York, on the 6th of August, of the same year, put an untimely end to the negotiations, and frustrated the dawning hopes of the Liberals."

The precise object aimed at in the negotiation proposed to our President, is made conspicuous in the address of the Minister Barrundia, one of the great and learned men of the country, the last of its revolutionary stock, whose eloquence and wisdom in its councils led the way to the achievement of its independence. His presentation speech uttered the sentiments of the President of Honduras, as well as those of the venerable patriot and statesman, and all the Liberals he led, who founded that Republic on the basis of our North American Confederacy. Every word of it is pregnant with political meaning, to which time will give effect, and the House cannot fail to mark these sentences in the address, and give emphasis to the closing words:

"The mission with which I am charged is perhaps more significant than any which has yet originated in Central America, and its objects are such as are seldom confided to an ordinary legation. It relates to the vital interests of an American people, struggling against the antagonism of monarchical principles, which, unfortunately, in some parts of this continent are seeking to change the blessings of liberty and independence *for alien protectorates and irresponsible dictatorships.*"

In a little more than a year afterwards, the last words became facts. Carrera, a mestizo, of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, had years before, by the aid of his Indian allies, made himself Dictator of Guatemala; then turning his force against Cabanas, President of Honduras and chief of the Liberals, he placed Santos Guardiola, another mestizo, in a dictatorship over that State. It is with this latter chieftain that the British Government has negotiated its treaty, resigning the Bay Islands to the so-called Republic, but still holding them under the "alien protectorate" of British institutions. I will read a single page from the lucid sketch given by Mr. Wells's book, which is, in fact, his report to the American merchants who employed him to examine the state of the country, in which they designed to prosecute their commercial enterprises. In this passage he makes an epitome which grasps the whole history:

"It will be seen that the main cause of the devastating wars of Central America has been the division of the States into irreconcilable parties; one, advocating the continuance of the obsolete forms of the Spanish viceroyalty, and the revival of the extinct aristocratical institutions of the colonial period; and the other, emulous of the astonishing progress of the United States under a purely republican government, vainly attempting to establish a similar system, and shedding their best blood in the thirty years' struggle to that end.

"Of the patriotic motives of the Liberals, scarcely one among the few native and foreign writers upon the politics of Central America but pay a deserved tribute to their earnest exertions in behalf of their country. An English author includes in the Liberal party some few who had been distinguished men under the monarchy, the greater portions of the legal and medical professions, or, in other words, the *élite* of the University, who had preferred these studies to that of theology or canons, not so much as a means of support, as because they are almost the only careers open to those who reject the ecclesiastical vocation. 'It also numbered many merchants and landed proprietors, supported by a numerous body, composed of the more intelligent artisans and laborers. Their leaders were men of very decided democratical principles, of unquestionable ability, and, considering the school they were brought up in, and the influence that surrounded them, they manifested no small amount of true patriotism and devotedness to their convictions; though, alas! in too many instances, stained with venality, and even with deeds of oppression and blood. What they overthrew, and what they accomplished for the State, is honorable alike to their talents and their sentiments; and though the limits of a sketch will scarcely admit a due appreciation of it, a cursory view of their achievements, taking into consideration the circumstances of the people and of the times, will probably excite more wonder, and certainly merits higher praise, than the victories of Alvarado.'

"Since Guardiola's usurpation of the supreme power in Honduras, the State has assumed a temporary importance abroad, by the arrangement of a treaty between its Government and that of Great Britain, by which the Central American question was finally settled, the Bay Islands restored to the Republic, and the British protectorate withdrawn from the Mosquito territory. The communication of Senor Alvarado, Honduras's Minister to Great Britain, announcing to his Government the conclusion of the treaty, is dated London, September 15, 1856. The principal feature in the convention was the right accorded to the inhabitants of the Bay Islands to maintain their own municipal government, to be administered by legislative, executive, and judicial officers, of their own election; trial by jury in their own courts; freedom of religious belief and worship, public and private; exemption from military service, except for their own defence; and from all taxation on real or other property, beyond such as may be imposed by their own municipality, and collected for the treasury of the same, and to be applied to the common benefit.

"The stipulations concerning religious freedom and trial by jury are thus forced on Honduras, and furnish the germs from which these eminently Anglo-Saxon ideas must eventually spread to the main land. Under the Federal Republic, the attempt to introduce this gave rise to the sanguinary conflicts between the authorities and the Indians; who then, as now, were incapable of appreciating its benefits. The privileges thus accorded to an integral portion of the State afford the first instance of the establishment in Central America of republican institutions, which are not subject to overthrow at the caprice of temporary rulers."

It seems that our American observer, standing on the spot—however averse to this British intrusion—is obliged to admit that it afforded "the *first instance of the establishment in Central America of republican institutions which are not subject to overthrow at the caprice of temporary rulers.*" But what says our President in reference to this Convention? He revolts at it, because, (I read his words:)

"Whilst declaring the Bay Islands to be a free territory, under the sovereignty of Honduras, it deprived that Republic of rights without which its sovereignty over them could scarcely be said to exist. It divided them from the remainder of Honduras, and gave to their inhabitants a separate Government of their own, with legislative, executive, and judicial officers elected by themselves. It deprived the Government of Honduras of the taxing power in every form, and exempted the people of the islands from the performance of military duty, except for their own exclusive defence. It also prohibited that Republic from erecting fortifications upon them for their protection; thus leaving them open to invasion from every quarter; and, finally, it provided '*that Slavery shall not at any time hereafter be permitted to exist therein.*'"

This last point is marked by inverted commas in the message, by way of showing that he gives the exact words of the treaty in that clause, which crowns the climax of its obnoxious impositions. It is strange that our President, in his enumeration of the shocking guarantees with which England encumbered her surrender of the Bay Islands to the mercy of the dictator, omitted those which were closely associated with, and gave vitality to, that interdicting Slavery. They were the *right of habeas corpus, trial by jury, and freedom of religious belief and worship.*

But Mr. Buchanan put his mark on that line of the treaty which excited so much abhorrence in that part of the Senate which was and is still laboring to force Slavery on Kansas. He "sticks a pin there," and thus tells them, "I join you in making war upon the establishment of Anglo-Saxon institutions in any part of Central America, coupled with the exclusion of Slavery, because they will frustrate the design we have formed and sent Walker to execute," and which the latter plainly avows in the following passage of a letter to one of his emissaries embarked with him in the enterprise. In a letter to Goicuria, sent by him as Minister to England, he says:

"With your versatility, and, if I may use the term, adaptability, I expect much to be done in England. You can do more than any American could possibly accomplish, because you can make the British Cabinet see that we are not engaged in any scheme for annexation; *you can make them see that the only way to cut the expanding and expansive Democracy of the North, is by a powerful and compact Southern Federation, based on military principles.*"

Again he says:

"Tell ——— he must send me the news, and let me know whether 'Cuba must and shall be free,' but not for the Yankees. Oh! no! that fine country is not fit for those barbarous Yankees! What would such a psalm-singing set do in the island?"

In his letter to the Hon. C. J. Jenkins, of Georgia, Walker admits, that though he did not go to Central America to establish Slavery, that measure was the guiding star of his policy after he reached there. He admits, too, that the decree issued with this object in view was his individual act, and that it was opposed by the whole body of native inhabitants. He asserts, also, that the measure was resorted to by him as a part of a system for promoting "the increase of Negro Slavery on this continent."

Now, whether the President sent his fleet to Nicaragua to protect that State from Walker's attempt, in compliance with the late treaty, or to make a cover for our national honor, *and a cover for the enterprise endangered by another fleet hovering on that coast,* remains a problem. In one view, the policy contemplated by him is very clear. No man can look at the complexion of the Cabinet with which he is surrounded; at the hardy attempts of every branch of the Government to propagate Slavery North and South; at the manifest determination, both of the Senate and the late and the present President, to keep open the Central American dispute with the British Government—making its treaty with Honduras for the exclusion of Slavery from the Bay Islands the main difficulty—without seeing that there is a latent purpose of forcing Slavery on that region against the will of a majority of the people of the Union, and making the Confederacy submit to a fragment of it, under the threat of flying off.

The purpose of subjecting Central America to Slavery has been boldly proclaimed; and the opening of the African slave trade is relied upon to fill up the void in the laboring population which must be made by the war and the expulsion of dangerous classes. Is it not a degradation of the nation which stands on this continent as the first asserter of its Freedom and Independence, and the great exemplar of popular sovereignty in the world, to have a Chief Magistrate and controlling councils harboring designs which they dare not avow, and seeking by sly intrigues to involve it in a war, to accomplish schemes which the people would spurn with disgust, if promulgated before they became committed in the conflict? I have no doubt my countrymen would regard with just indignation and resist an attempt by England to turn our flank on the Gulf of Mexico. That she spreads her dominion across this continent, from the Gulf of the St. Lawrence to Vancouver's Island on the Pacific, bringing its pressure to bear upon our whole Northern frontier, is as much restraint as can be endured. The nation would be willing to close this century as it began, in hostility with England, rather than submit to encroachment on our Southern quarter. For this reason, our Government insisted that Great Britain should abandon the assumed protectorate claimed over the coasts of Central America. She relinquished it; but she stipulated with Honduras, that the subjects left by her in the Bay Islands should continue to enjoy the free institutions which she had planted there. Our own citizen, Mr. Wells, looking to the establishment of our influence through our institutions in this quarter, hails this step as "*the establishment in Central America of republican institutions, which are not to be overthrown at the caprice of temporary rulers.*"

Can Mr. Buchanan summon hardihood to involve this country in a war to expel the Freedom guarantied to the Bay Islands by the treaty made with the dictator Guardiola, and subject them to his absolute authority? I would rather hope that our Government, if not now, may yet, under another Presidency, extend its influence over the main land of Central America, by giving its support to maintain Governments there, based upon its own republican principles. To do this, we must, like England in the case of the Bay Islands, *send our people into the country, protect our merchants in their enterprises there, and make an honest demonstration of the fixed purpose of our Government to build up the prosperity of Central America for its own and our advantage.* What could confer more honor on our national character than the acceptance of the proposal which the illustrious patriot Barrundia, as the last act of his life, submitted to our late President, speaking for Cabañas and the wishes (as Mr. Wells and our diplomatic agent, Mr. Squier, give reason to believe) of the people of Honduras. Barrundia says:

"She offers her commodious ports, her salubrious climate, and her great but undeveloped resources, to the aid of this undertaking, and freely offers her rich and fertile country to the enterprise and industry of the American people. Honduras should be forever the friend and sister of the United States, and she looks hopefully to the latter for the support of her liberty and independence. May the Eternal Disposer of events link together the people of both by the unalterable tie of interest and future mutual prosperity."

He concludes by repeating:

"The earnest solicitude of Honduras to establish a true and intimate fraternity with the United States, in such form that both nations may have a single interest for the common cause of liberty, and in such manner that Honduras may proceed to develop her latent elements of prosperity, and to improve the advantage of a position eminently favored by nature, without a fear of disturbance for the future, *either from civil discord or exterior aggression. Should such a fortunate result be attained, Honduras will yet present, in the centre of the commercial world, the glorious spectacle of a free and prosperous people, sustained by the generosity of the great American Republic.*"

To what a glorious and benevolent mission was our country called by this invocation of Barrundia, compared with those vile buccaneering expeditions set on foot by a body of filibusting malcontents among us, enemies alike of both Republics! They want to set up a Government "*under military rule.*" They want to be associated with the slave States, and exclude "*the psalm singing Yankees.*" They want to repeal the edict emancipating the slaves in the Central American States, and enslave them again. And can any one doubt whether these rapacious propagandists of Slavery would hesitate, in case of success, to make themselves amends for their toils, sufferings, and dangers, somewhat as Cortez turned these conquests to account, acquired and held "by military rule?"

Connected with this overture of Barrundia, on the part of Honduras, freely offering, "her rich and fertile country (rich in gold and every species of vegetation) to the enterprise and industry of the American people," in return for security from "civil discord and foreign aggression," was another, which addressed itself to the enterprising spirit of our great commercial cities. It was the grant of a charter conferring privileges of immense value, to be derived from the construction of an inter-oceanic railroad from the Atlantic bay of Honduras to the bay of Fonseca, on the Pacific. Mr. Wells glances at this when he arrives at Amapala, which he mentions as the projected "terminus of the Honduras inter-oceanic railroad, which, commencing on the Caribbean sea, is designed to pass through the beautiful valley of Comagua, a distance of one hundred and sixty-eight miles, and with an average grade, as the reports of the surveys of Mr. E. G. Squier state, of only twenty-eight feet to the mile." He continues:

"While Panama and Nicaragua were early made the field of American enterprise for the establishment of an inter-oceanic communication, it is a little singular that speedier attention was not directed to this route to the Pacific, which is shorter than any other, not excepting that of Tehauntepec, and offers facilities for the construction of an inter-oceanic railroad, not exceeded by any other."

He adds:

"Extraordinary inducements are offered for the furtherance of this great enterprise; one of the principal of which is the existence of safe and capacious harbors at either terminus, (an advantage not possessed by the Tehuantepec route,) and the comparative small amount of grading and bridging to be done."

In the following paragraph he describes the site of the intended terminus on the Pacific side:

"The first impression on landing at Tigre Island (in the bay on the Pacific side) is its splendid facilities for fortification, and the formation of a great central commercial depot, from which to command the trade of the three States bordering on the bay of Fonseca. Its resources fully developed, Amapala might be made the most important port on the Pacific coast, south of San Francisco. In 1850, Mr. E. G. Squier, during his chargeship, forwarded a series of dispatches to the United States Government, in which he advocated the advantages of entering into negotiations with Honduras for the establishment of a naval station at Amapala. Should this plan be adopted, the yearly increasing means of communication between California and the Eastern States would soon place a United States squadron within seven days of Washington; with the construction of the contemplated Honduras railroad, and the appliances of telegraphs and steamers, Government orders of the most vital importance to the nation could reach our squadron in the Pacific in three and a half days. The town is now the principal, or rather the only real port where large vessels or steamers may anchor and discharge, on the Pacific coast of the three Republics of Honduras, San Salvador, or Nicaragua."

Our Presidents, of late years, have not been able to lift their vision to look beyond a President-nominating convention. Without having rendered service of any sort to recommend them to the favor of the nation, these conventional aspirants rely on their location in the North, the skill in party tactics acquired by them as subalterns at the drill, and the cunning acquired in the intrigues necessary to give prominence to an eager ambition, without the higher faculties to promote it, fitted these men to become the instruments of a section, to defeat the sound, settled policy of the nation. Fillmore was too busy in making covert compliances to ingratiate himself with those pressing from the South to extend the area of Slavery North and West, to listen to our Charge in Central America, when urging the expansion of our national greatness in a direction to have its just control over the continent and the oceans that washed its shores. Pierce was so sunk in submission to the plotters laboring to crush Kansas under Slavery, that the overtures of Barrundia, which would have lifted a whole galaxy of independent States, with open bosom to welcome the enterprise and industry of our countrymen and the influence of our Government, were unheeded. The voice of an empire, uttered by its noblest patriot and statesmen, its eloquent philosopher, the scholar who modelled its Government after our own, fell upon his ears as "upon the dull, cold ear of death." But "the day of small things," of enslaved Presidents, of buccaneers, will pass away, and the nation of the New World will resume the attitude which the moral grandeur of the great man who directed its affairs for the first half century gave it. Then the time will come for a new movement on this continent, which will confer prosperity on three races of men.

Mr. Chairman, it is evident to every man of thought, that the freed blacks hold a place in this country which cannot be maintained. Those who have fled to the North are most unwelcome visitors. The strong repugnance of the free white laborer to be yoked with the negro refugee, breeds an enmity between races, which must end in the expulsion of the latter. Centuries could not reconcile the Spaniards to the Moors; and, although the latter were the most useful people in Spain, their expulsion was the only way to peace. In spite of all that reason or religion can urge, nature has put a badge upon the African, making amalgamation revolting to our race. Centuries have shown that even the aboriginal race of this continent, although approaching our species in every respect more nearly, perish from contiguity with the white man. But I will not argue the point. The law of the North has put its ban upon immigration of negroes into the free States.

In the South, causes more potent still make it impossible that the emancipated blacks can remain there. The multiplication of slaves and freed men of the same caste in the section where the dominant race must become proportionally fewer from emigration, has already compelled the latter to prohibit emancipation within the States, and to seek means of deliverance from the free blacks. The Northern States will not receive them; the Southern States dare not retain them. What is to be done? What was done with the native population which it was found incompatible with the interests of Georgia, and the States southwest of the Ohio, and the States northwest, to indulge with homes within their limits? The United States held it to be a national duty to purchase their lands from them, acquire homes for them in other regions, and to hold out inducements and provide the means for their removal to them. Have not the negroes, born on our soil, who have grown up among us, and although fated to be a burden and obstruction to our progress—yet always in amity and laboring to render service—equal claims upon us with the savages, against whom we have had to fight our way for centuries, resisting all attempts to bring them within the pale of civilization?

The President, in his late message, proposes to gather these savages in colonies, and at an early day raise them to the dignity of forming States, and assuming equality with the States of the Union. The Africans—bred and educated within civilized communities, who speak our language, are listeners at our canvasses, lookers-on at the elections, worshippers in our churches, and constantly witness the processes of improvement in our society, in the field, the workshop, and every domestic scene—one would think quite as capable of being disciplined in colonies, and fitted to take part in the Government of the Union, as the Shawnees, Pottawatomies, Winnebagoes, the Sacs, and Foxes, removed from the Northwest; or the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, from the Southwest. As far as respects the Sioux, Pawnees, Cheyennes, Utahs, Camanches, and Blackfeet, the President might have spared his recommendation until they were caught. I believe the people who constitute this Confederacy will forever scout the idea of blending either Indian or negro States with it. The aboriginal or imported tribes, which cannot amalgamate with our race, can never share in its Government in equal sovereignties. In the benevolent design of colonizing the Indians, protecting and aiding their efforts to gain a subsistence by cultivating the soil set apart for them, I most cordially concur; but I think, whatever form of society they may assume, they must always be held as dependencies; not put upon the footing of equality with the States.

And ought not the Government to be equally provident for such portions of the unfortunate race born to Slavery, but who, having attained Freedom, find that it renders them a burden to those among whom they live—a burden that will not be borne? This is the question which absolute necessity now forces on the consideration of the country—one deeply affecting the interests and feelings of slaveholders and non-slaveholders of the superior race, and of more than half a million already manumitted inferiors, pressed down by their weight.

The apparent evil which now produces so much anxiety and agitation here, I feel a firm conviction wise counsels will overrule for good. I believe that the removal from among us of such of the freed people of color as might be induced willingly to go to such parts of Central America as our Government could open to them and establish as a secure home, would be fraught with benefits to us, to the emigrants, to the people receiving them, and to all concerned in the commerce of this continent within the tropics. I have already quoted the account of a late visiter and most acute observer, sent to report on the condition of that country. He confirms the general impression in regard to the *effete* state of the Spanish race in Honduras and the other Central American States; the insurrectionary disposition of the Indians and mestizos of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, which produces incessant civil war and revolution; and he shows that the African race constitutes the basis on which some energetic and intelligent Power must build a stable structure of free government. The negroes and mulattoes in Honduras number one hundred and forty thousand; the Indians one hundred thousand; the whites about fifty thousand; but of this caste he remarks, that—

"Indiscriminate amalgamation has nearly obliterated the former distinction of caste, and few families of pure Spanish descent are known. Some of the wealthiest merchants of the department of Tegucigalpa are blacks, possessing a surprising degree of business tact. Two of the largest commercial houses have negro proprietors, whose mercantile relations extend to Europe, whence they import most of their goods. Though the great majority of the negroes of Honduras are a thoroughly debased and ignorant class, there are numerous exceptions. The Senate and Assembly have contained many highly-intelligent blacks and mulattoes, thoroughly educated in the Central American school of politics, and with sufficient discernment to foresee the decline of their own influence, and the power of the negro race, with the introduction of the Teutonic stock. Hence their violent opposition to foreign enterprises, in the national councils and in their private circles. The clergy are mostly negroes or mestizos. Their power for evil has been largely contracted since the independence; but, with a few exceptions, these men exercise rather a favorable influence over the people, and are generally respected."

Mr. Chairman, it is to this country, rich in mines, in every tropical production, and open to our emigrants and to our commerce through two great bays, one on the Pacific and the other on the Atlantic, and within three days' steaming of our own coast, that I would propose to form a settlement for such of our colored race, now free, or that may hereafter be freed, as might volunteer to establish it under the auspices of our Government. And touching this most important policy, as calculated to deliver our Republic from the incubus which threatens so much mischief, and to convert it into a means of so much good, I beg leave to take a lesson from the colonial policy of Great Britain, which received as a system its finished and most liberal form under the late administration of Lord John Russell—Earl Grey presiding over the office of Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. The whole system is developed in a masterly series of letters addressed by the Earl to the Premier, which, with the history of the colonization that has girdled the world with Great Britain's dependencies, gives the reforms that make them adhere to the empire without force, and from a sense of mutual advantage embraced in a common power and glory. The particular circumstance in that policy to which I would point the eye, is one which has uniformly characterized it: the transplantation of a better-informed people, imbued with the traits they wished to impress on the race they sought to subject to their influence. The example I adduce, as applicable to the scheme I would recommend, is in Earl Grey's letter on Trinidad. Speaking of the various transplantations made for the improvement of Trinidad, he says:

"*Steps have also been taken, within the last two years, for procuring immigrants of a far more valuable description than those from India. I refer to the free black and colored inhabitants of the United States. These people are regarded as an encumbrance, and their presence is considered a most serious evil in the States which they now inhabit, while there can be no doubt that many of them would be the best possible settlers who could be introduced into Trinidad. Speaking the English, with habits of industry and of civilized life, and well adapted by their constitution to the climate, there seems to be no reason to doubt the success of black and colored immigrants from the United States. Provided a proper selection is made of the individuals to be brought, their introduction could not fail to be of the highest value to the colony, not only from the actual accession of its population, which would be thus obtained, but from the example which they would afford to its present inhabitants. Such an addition to the existing population of Trinidad would have a tendency to raise the whole community in the scale of civilization; whereas, there is precisely the opposite tendency with respect to immigration from almost any other quarter, and this is no slight drawback to the advantage to be obtained from it;*" (that is, from the immigration from India.)

Now, this element of strength and improvement, which English policy would allure to its West India possessions, I would allure to some congenial region on our own continent, with a view to their welfare, and to the extension of the influence and the commerce of their native country, the United States. I propose for imitation the example of the great pioneer nation in colonization. It has exhibited the elastic power of popular representative self-government, by which it has stretched Great Britain—though a mere selvage of the continent of Europe, saved from the grasp of its despots by a channel of the sea—around the world; erecting an empire greater than the Roman, by the art of making and managing dependencies. Conquest over barbarous tribes, by naval and military force, was the first step in this great career. But when these tribes became nations, instructed in the arts of civilization and skill in the use of arms—a progress urged on as necessary to the commerce, aggrandizement, and defence of England—they could no longer be held subjected by force, and the whole system has been changed gradually into that which is in reality a confederacy, with Great Britain for its head, and her crown the symbol, drawing together the united powers of the whole. Earl Grey describes the principle of this great revolution as follows:

"Keeping steadily in view that the welfare and civilization of the inhabitants of the colonies, and the advantage which the empire at large may derive from their prosperity, are the only objects for which the extension of these dependencies is desirable; and believing also that there can be no doubt as to the superiority of free Governments, to those of an opposite character, as instruments of promoting the advancement of communities, in which they can be made to work with success, I consider it to be the obvious duty and interest of this country to extend representative institutions to every one of its dependencies where they have not been established, and where this can be done with safety."

The late rebellion in Canada was the immediate cause of putting the colonies upon the footing of the mother country in the freedom of its institutions. The American Revolution had taught a lesson that was not lost. Earl Grey says:

"The system now established in Canada is that of parliamentary government; that is to say, government by means of parties. This form of government is now working well in that and the neighboring provinces, and is probably, on the whole, the best plan hitherto adopted of enabling a colony, in an advanced stage of its social progress, to exercise the privilege of self-government. It may therefore be regarded as the form which representative institutions, when they acquire their full development, are likely to take in the British colonies."

In pursuance of this plan, when Lord Elgin was sent to Canada to give it practical effect, his instructions bore on their face the unqualified declaration, that "*it cannot be too distinctly acknowledged that it is neither possible nor desirable to carry on the government of any of the British provinces in North America in opposition to the opinion of the inhabitants.*" This was a declaration of independence by the Government, in advance of that contemplated by the people; and the consequence was, that the Reformers came into power in the Canadas, and, instead of persisting in the idea of annexation to the United States, they have become our rivals in progress, and hold their association with the renown and power of England as conferring advantages over us, from whom they are content to ask only a fair field for competition on this continent in a reciprocity treaty.

This scheme of securing the allegiance of the nations Great Britain has in her train, by imparting to them the benefit of the free institutions she enjoys, has been carried out, in a greater or less degree, all over the world. In the West Indies, in defiance of the violent opposition of island aristocracies, (the lords of the soil,) the Government consulted the greatest good of the greatest number, and set free all the slaves; and, what was held to be equally disastrous, it struck off the fetters of monopoly, which, by means of differential duties, gave the home market to the sugar planters without competition. This double act of emancipation, tripled by the repeal of the navigation act, raised the cry of the privileged owners everywhere, that ruin was inevitable. Lord Grey shows the result in figures from the custom-house; and it appears that both in the West Indies and East Indies, comparing five years before with five years after the act of Freedom, the increase of the sugar crops alone, in the last five years, under free labor and free competition, was 635,869 cwts. Mr. D'Israeli, who had been a Tory croaker against these reforms, afterwards, in a speech in Parliament, made the *amende* to Lord John Russell, who was their author. After comparing results in detail, he lumps the matter, and says:

"In other words, British production has increased by 1,250,000 cwts., and foreign production (that is, slave-grown sugar) has decreased about 600,000 cwts. I may be called a traitor, I may be called a renegade; but I want to know whether there is any gentleman in this House, wherever he may sit, who would recommend a differential duty to prop up a prostrate industry which is already commanding the metropolitan market."

The same system of assimilating the provincial institutions to the British has been pursued in the cannibal island of New Zealand, and brought to bear successfully on that warlike and powerful race, said to be superior to our Shawnees in bravery and intelligence. They have been trained into stone masons, road builders, farmers, and traders, municipal officers, and legislators, by the elective and representative rights conceded to them under the instruction and assistance of the English authority.

In Australia, once the land of convicts, the experiment works well. There parliamentary tactics are plied, and we hear of debates ending in the expulsion of a ministry who fail to meet the public expectation. It is now a land of gold, of herds, of agriculture, of commerce, of busy cities filled with refinement. Earl Grey tells us that in 1850 a census was taken of one element of this prosperity: "Of persons who had originally been prisoners, who were actually in the enjoyment either of entire freedom, or that degree of freedom conferred by conditional pardon—the result of the investigation was to show that of such persons in these colonies there could not have been less than forty-eight thousand; and out of this large number, those who were not, in some way or other, maintaining themselves honestly, either by their labor or the property they had acquired, were so few that they formed a mere fraction of the whole."

The Secretary goes on to account for this by ascribing it to the salutary effects of transplantation; to change of scene, of society and habits, removal from temptation, and being forced by necessity to labor where wages were tempting, in the field or in tending herds, and having the opportunity to form a new character among a new people. Another obvious cause of this reformation, well understood in this country, is found in the ease of acquiring homesteads in the crown lands of Australia. To promote this, regulations were adopted, as Earl Grey expresses it, "with a view of insuring the distribution of land to those by whom it was wanted;" "since," as he adds, "there is no such fatal obstacle to the progress of a colony as having a large proportion of its lands engrossed by persons who make little use of the estates they acquired." This was effected by selling to settlers at the minimum price, and then providing that "the money received for the land may be so laid out that the *bona fide* settler may receive, in the increased value for occupation of the land he buys, full compensation for the price he is required to pay for it." And he adds, that it is "an essential part of the policy which ought to be pursued with regard to the alienation of land, that the proceeds of the land sales should be always so applied as to give this advantage to the purchaser." This is almost a homestead bill; for it gives back the price of the land, received in one hand, by paying it for the improvement of it with the other hand.

I have drawn thus largely on Secretary Grey's explanation of the colonial policy of Lord John Russell's Administration, to point the eye of our Government to the causes of that success which is now the wonder of the world. India alone gives trouble; and that, doubtless, is attributable to the fact, that it has always been in the hands of a monopolizing company, which has had the right, and exerted it, to exclude Englishmen and English institutions, according to its pleasure, out of the provinces, which have been kept, for the company's benefit, in the hands of pensioned nabobs. Lord Palmerston has already given notice of a bill, which probably will place India in the nation's keeping.

The position which things are taking on the shores of Central America indicates a rivalry between England and the United States, as to the Power which is to exert the command over that region; to people it, civilize it, give it peace; in a word, make it in some sort a dependency—the only mode of saving it from barbarism, and from becoming a nuisance. The British Government has sent its subjects—free colored persons, Jamaica negroes—into the logwood and mahogany cuttings in Honduras, and into the Bay Islands, where she claimed a protectorate. She has restored the latter to the Government on the main land, stipulating that all the rights that make freemen of the people of England or the United States, shall be held under a sacred guarantee. Mr. Buchanan says, in his late message, that this security, taken for the people of the Bay Islands, is the establishment of "a State, at all times subject to British influence and control." And how would he prevent it? By stripping off the civil rights the people enjoy, and subjecting them to a dictator? He especially objects to their having "legislative, executive, and judicial officers, elected by themselves; of being exempt from the taxing power in every form," against the consent of their representatives; "the performance of military service, except for their own exclusive defence;" but, above all, he holds the provision, "that Slavery shall not, at any time hereafter, be permitted to exist therein," to be the most obnoxious.

Now, I do not believe that the people of the United States will allow Mr. Buchanan to wage a war against Great Britain to establish Slavery in the Bay Islands, any more than they will allow him to establish it in Kansas by force of arms. Nor will they countenance his hostility to freedom of religious belief in the Bay Islands, nor to the elective franchise, nor trial by jury, nor the right of *habeas corpus*, nor of voting the taxes to be imposed on them, and providing exclusively for their own military defence. It is a scandal to the age, that an American President objects to the guarantee of the American bill of rights, to secure the freedom of any people.

Instead of opposing, I think we should follow the example of England, and carry to the main land of Central America such of our free colored population as may be willing to go, upon the invitation of the Liberal party in that country, and extend our guarantee of freedom over them and the whole section of country which our Government may acquire, by purchase, for their reception. There is a necessity that some great civilized Power should step in, to restore order and industry, under the guarantee of free and stable institutions. England tenders the security of her crown, and the best usages that have ever grown up under a crown. We should offer the support of our Constitution, and the earnest of prosperous freedom which it has assured to our Northern Republic. Which they would choose, the Southern Republics have already evinced, in the forms they have adopted; and the encroachments of our transatlantic brethren would never have been attempted, but for the departures manifested in late movements from the principles of the founders of our Government. While Great Britain has been breaking down Slavery and monopoly in the West Indies, the hand that has been felt from this quarter was that of the filibuster. Cuba was ready to fly to the embraces of the United States, when she was repelled by two successive lawless expeditions, unmistakably marked by the features of the buccaneers who ravaged that island of old.

And what have been the concomitants of Gen. Walker's invasion? A proclamation, revoking the constitutional decree delivering the greatest mass of the people from Slavery; and the principle thus manifested was fitly illustrated by military executions, butcheries in the streets of the cities, and, lastly, by the conflagration of one of the oldest. These atrocities had the effect of uniting the people of these distracted States, at last, in one common object—the expulsion of the oppressor. Happily for the fame of our country, the renewal of this horrible enterprise has been thoroughly rebuked by the patriotism, courage, and decision, of Commodore Paulding. The name has acquired a new lustre, to emblazon that which it inherits from the Revolution. If the Commodore's act had the sanction of the Administration in advance, or shall receive it now, some proof will be given that it is not altogether degenerate, and much will have been done to remove from us the aversion, the want of confidence in the justice of this Republic, and the fear that it countenances a design to fix a yoke on Central America, instead of rescuing it from usurpation—results to be hailed as tending to fit our Government for the relation it should hold towards the Republics of this continent.

If, on the other hand, the Administration takes part with Walker, and the faction in this country that supports him, it will show to all the world that the scheme for the propagation of Slavery by the sword, of which it has given strong indications in Kansas, is extended to the whole regions of the South. Such a scheme can never succeed, unless the principle avowed as the basis of it, by Walker, shall prevail. *The triumph of "military rule"* over civil institutions in the slave States, and their separation from the free States, North and West, must be won as the first step to conquest; and then, as the next step, the whole power of the free Republics on this side of the Atlantic, and the hostile feeling, if not the direct force of Europe, must be encountered.

The connection of the Atchison-Kansas conspiracy with that of Walker's against Central America is visible in the instruments who put them in motion. The same men, North and South, encourage both. Funds were raised for them in the same quarters; and such men as Colonel Titus are seen to emerge at one time in Kansas, at another in Nicaragua. The masses of the people, nor their elevated statesmen, neither of the North nor South, of the East or West, not even the great body of the slave-owners, have any heart in the propagation of Slavery. Apart from the politicians, who use the question for their own advancement, the design has no support but in the enemies of the Union, who hate free government, from the bitterness of their hearts, or from a vanity they would dignify as aristocratic pride.

In my opinion, the propagation of Slavery can only be successfully resisted by the propagation of Freedom. It is this mission, arrogated by Great Britain as peculiarly hers, which has conferred on her the preponderance she holds in almost every portion of the earth. She has swayed it with an iron hand, but everywhere of late years Anglo-Saxon justice, civilization, and Christianity, wherever they prevailed, have allowed every man to feel the comfort of laboring for himself, and he has labored all the better for his country.

Great Britain has her hands full in christianizing, civilizing, and improving, for commercial usefulness, the old continents. She must leave to us the regeneration of the new one; and this I find, from a paper in a late Westminster Review, marked by the editor with an unusual notification, ascribing it to "*an able and distinguished contributor,*" seems to be the opinion of some of the great men of England. This eloquent writer, describing the missions of what he calls "the four Empires," RUSSIA, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, and the UNITED STATES, assigns its office to the latter in the following passage:

"And it may once for all be assumed, that the human race, whatever Cabinets or Parliaments may think of it, will not be driven from their inevitable course. The work which has begun so largely will go forward. The Asiatic independence which survives will narrow down and grow feebler, and at last die. The will and the intellect of the more advanced races will rule in due time over that whole continent. The genius of France will follow the shores of the Mediterranean; the line of kingdoms which divides the empires of England and Russia will grow thinner, till their frontiers touch. In spite of Clayton-Bulwer treaties, and Dallas-Clarendon interpretations of them, the United States will stretch their shadow ever further South. Revolution will cease to tear the empire of Montezuma. The falling Republics of Central America will not forever be a temptation, by their weakness, to the attacks of lawless ruffians. The valley of the mighty Amazon, which would grow corn enough to feed a thousand million mouths, must fall at last to those who will force it to yield its treasures. The ships which carry the commerce of America into the Pacific, carry, too, American justice, and American cannon as the preachers of it. The Emperor of Japan supposed, that by Divine right, doing as he would with his own, he might close his country against his kind; that when vessels in distress were driven into his ports, he might seize their crews as slaves, or kill them as unlicensed trespassers. An armed squadron, with the star-spangled banner flying, found its way into the Japan waters, and his serene Majesty was instructed that in nature's statute-book there is no right conferred on any man to act unrighteously, because it is his pleasure; that, in their own time, and by their own means, the upper Powers will compel him, whether he pleases or not, to bring his customs into conformity with wiser usage."

The starting point in this new career is the resumption of the progress which receives its impulse in the revolution tending to the deliverance of the white laboring class of this country from the superincumbent weight of African Slavery. This redemption of our own race from its vassalage under Slavery has been brought to a stand-still, and six millions of our free white kindred endure deprivation, corporeal and intellectual, from the slave occupation of the soil, and of the pursuits which would add to their means of living and their sources of mental improvement. Neither the slave-owners nor the slave States are responsible for the arrest of the enfranchisement which promised blessings to the toilers of both races. For, whether as a slave or free man, the presence of multitudes of the black race is found to be fa to the interests of our race; their antagonis is as strong as that of oil and water; and long as no convenient outlet, through whi the manumitted slave can reach a congen climate and country, willing to receive him, afforded, the institution of Slavery stands compulsion. But let me suppose Centr America—tempting in gold and every pr duction of the tropical soil, to stimulate e ertion, with a climate innoxious only to t black man—were opened up to him, under c cumstances to advance him in the scale of h manity, how long before masters in all the te perate slave States would make compositio to liberate them on terms that would indemni them for transplantation? Hundreds of mo benevolent owners would, from a sense of pu lic good and for conscience sake, by wills, by deeds of emancipation, make this delive ance, if the General Government would ta the charge of the deportation to the region might acquire for them—a gradual and volu tary emancipation by individuals, if not States, would thus in time be accomplished. hold that it is the duty of the nation to off this boon to slaveholders and to the slave State to enable them to have complete control of t subject, which is the source of so much anxie and mischief to them.

What a change would soon be wrought the condition of Maryland and Virginia, Te nessee and Kentucky, and in my own Stat Missouri, if a smooth way were opened into t heart of the tropics—prodigal of wealth in t soil, in the mines, and in the forests; whe the labor of the robust and skilful freed ma assisted by the capital and instruction, and i spired by the energy of enterprising America merchants, miners, or planters, would sta everything into life. The mixed condition the four different classes which, in our gra growing States, obstruct each other; the ma ter dependent on the slaves, the slaves on the masters; the free negroes hanging on t skirts of both; while the great mass, the fr white laborers, are cast out, in a great measur from employment and all ownership in the so would be succeeded by the most useful of the tillers of the earth, small freeholders a an independent tenantry. The influx of imm grants from Europe and the North, with mo erate capital, already running into Marylan and Virginia, would, as these States slough the black skin, fill up the rich region aroun the Chesapeake bay, the noblest bay in t world, fed by the most beautiful rivers, a brooded over by the most genial climate, a make it fulfill the prediction of Washingto who said, Slavery abolished, it would becom "the garden of America." The wilderne shores of the great inland sea, now almost silent as in the days of Powhatan, would alive with population; and the waters, no covered with swans, wild geese, and wild duck would be covered with sails, and kept in co motion by the rush of steamers over the The great rivers that run to waste over ma latitudes of the healthful temperate zone wou thunder with machinery, and the little Merr mac in Massachusetts, which, though froze half the year, produces ninety millions of ma nfactures, would find more than a hundre rivals in giant streams which are precipitate in the Chesapeake. The mountains wou give to the hand of free labor boundle wealth, in coal, salt, and ores, and their surfa in pasturing innumerable herds and flock The plains and valleys would teem with gra the lowlands with meadow, and the Old D minion, instead of being "the lone mother dead empires," would resume her heredita crown and nascent strength, imparting ne growth to all her offspring States.

The noble ambition which once led the wa to pre-eminence in this great Confedera must again be attained by a love of liberty, b love of justice, by a magnanimous patriotism prompt to make any sacrifice of tempora convenience for the great moral and politica principles, the foundation of free institution The attempt to enforce Slavery in Kansas an Central America by the sword, and thus ma the whole intermediate space on the contine fall under its ascendency, will fail. There is Mohammed to establish such a dominion; n is this age, the age of Christian strength a popular power, one to succumb to Slaver propagandist prophets. Indeed, the Moslem all over the world have fallen so low, under t influence of this part of their creed, that the are obliged to surrender, and take the la from the accursed nations they stigmatize Franks. the civilized world is at war with th propagation of Slavery, whether by fraud or b the sword; and those who look to gain politic ascendency on this continent by bringing t weight of this system, like an enormous yok not to subject the slaves only, but also the fellow-citizens and kindred of the same bloo have made false auguries of the signs of th times.

ANECDOTES OF BYRON.

Trelawney's Recollections of Shelley and B ron tell us, among other reminiscences, ho Byron contrived to keep his fat down.

Byron had not damaged his body by stron drinks, but his terror of getting fat was so gre that he reduced his diet to the point of absolu starvation. He was of that soft, lymphatic ten perament, which it is almost impossible to kee within a moderate compass, particularly as, i his case, his lameness prevented his taking e ercise. When he added to this weight, eve standing was painful; so he resolved to kee down to eleven stone, or shoot himself. H said everything he swallowed was instantly co verted into tallow, and deposited on his rib He was the only human being I ever met wit who had sufficient self-restraint and resoluti to resist this proneness to fatten. He did s and at Genoa, where he was last weighed, h was ten stone and nine pounds, and looke much less. This was not from vanity about h personal appearance, but from a better motiv and as, like Justice Greedy he was always hu gry, his merit was the greater. Occasionall he relaxed his vigilance, when he swelled apac I remember one of his old friends, saying, "B ron, how well you are looking!" If he ha stopped there, it had been well; but when h added, "You are getting fat." Byron's bro reddened, and his eyes flashed, "Do you ca getting fat looking well, as if I were a hog? and, turning to me, he muttered, "The beast, can hardly keep my hands off him."

The man who thus offended him was the hu hand of the lady addressed as "Genevra," an the original of his "Zuleika," in the *Bride o Abydos*. I don't think he had much appeti for his dinner that day, or for many days, an never forgave the man who, so far from wishin to offend, intended to pay him a complimen Byron said he tried all sorts of experiments stay his hunger, without adding to his bulk. " swelled," he said, "at one time, to fourtee stone, so I clapped the muzzle on my jaws, an like the hibernating animals, consumed my ow fat." He would exist on biscuits and soda-wa ter for days together; then, to allay the etern hunger gnawing at his vitals, he would make up horrid mess of cold potatoes, rice, fish, or green deluged in vinegar, and gobble it up like famished dog. On either of these unsavo dishes, with a biscuit and glass or two of Rhi wine, he cared not how sour, he called feasti sumptuously. Upon my observing he might well have fresh fish or vegetables, instead stale, he laughed, and answered, "I have an a vantage over you: I have no palate. One thi is as good as another to me." "Nothing," said, "disagrees with the natural man. H fasts and gorges: his brains don't bother hi but if you wish to live?"——"Who wants live?" he replied. "Not I. The Byrons are short-lived race on both sides, father and mot er. Longevity is hereditary: I am nearly the end of my tether. I don't care for death d——: it is her sting! I can't bear pain." B starving his body, Byron kept his brains clea No man had brighter eyes or a clearer voi and his resolute bearing and prompt repli when excited, gave to his body a muscul power that imposed on strangers. I never dou ed, for he was indifferent to life, and proud than Lucifer, that, if he had drawn his swor in Greece, or elsewhere, he would have thro away the scabbard.

Doctrine is nothing but the skin of Truth s up and stuffed.

Any feeling that takes a man away from h home, is a traitor to the household.

The most dangerous infidelity of the day the infidelity of rich and orthodox churches.

In the morning, we carry the world, like A las; at noon, we stoop and bend beneath it; a at night it crushes us flat to the ground.

In this world, it is not what we *take* up, h what we *give* up, that makes us rich.